

# Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian, c.1306-c.1513

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## Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work is my own. It has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. NB: Some of the material in Chapter Two expands on work done towards the degree of MSc by Research in Scottish History (University of Edinburgh, 2001); all text is substantially different from any submitted towards that degree.

, 29<sup>th</sup> August 2006

## Abstract

This thesis looks at some aspects of the laity's devotional and ecclesiastical interests in the archdeaconry of Lothian, c.1306 to c.1513. This is the first such study of a locality in Scotland before the sixteenth century. The laity in question are the social and economic elite – royalty, nobility, landholders and burgesses. This focus is determined by the evidence available. Although Lothian (and Scotland as a whole) does not have the sort of documents or artefacts which have formed the basis of local studies in other parts of Christendom, material is available which allows certain aspects of the laity's relationship with the church to be assessed. Noble and royal interests are addressed in chapters on the rise of the secular college in Scotland, the noble and royal collegiate churches in Lothian, the development of the Chapel Royal, royal almsgiving, and especially James IV's almsgiving in Lothian and his devotional interests more broadly. Lay interest in monastic houses is also treated, complementing other scholars' recent work on the friars and female religious houses in medieval Scotland. Parish life is examined where possible, particularly in terms of investment in intercession in the urban parish of St Giles', Edinburgh. Finally, there is a chapter on the cult of the saints, including pilgrimage sites in Lothian, with particular consideration of the prominence (or otherwise) of interest in native saints. The thesis aims to broaden medieval Scotland's straitly political historiography by highlighting religious practices, particularly in the contexts of kingship and of local society. Given that much of the historiography relating to the Scottish Church and religion has been driven by responses to the Reformation, it also asks how far the Scottish evidence permits useful conclusions about piety to be drawn for the late medieval period.





Frontispiece: Crichton Collegiate Church (c.1449), Midlothian



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## Abbreviations

*Abdn Reg.* - Innes, Cosmo, ed., *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, 2 vols, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1845)

*APS* - Thomson, Thomas and Innes, Cosmo, (eds), *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1814-75).

*Benedict XIII Letters* - McGurk, F., ed., *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon 1394-1419*, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1976)

*BOEC* - *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*

*Cambusk. Reg.* - *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth AD1147-1535*, Grampian Club (Edinburgh, 1872)

*CDS* - Bain, Joseph, et al, eds, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in the Public Record Office*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1881-1986)

*Clement VII Letters* - Burns, C., ed., *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon*, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1976)

*CPL* - Bliss, W.H. et al (eds), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, 16 vols to date (London/Dublin, 1893-)

*CPP* - Bliss, W.H., ed., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope*, (London, 1896)

*Crosraguel Chrs* - *Charters of the Abbey of Crosraguel*, 2 vols (Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological Association, 1886)

*CSSR* - Dunlop, A.I., et al., eds., *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*, 5 vols. (SHS, Glasgow, Edinburgh, 1934-97)

*DOST* - Craigie, William A., et al., *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, 12 vols (Chicago/London/Aberdeen, 1937-2992); online edition (with the *Scottish National Dictionary*) in 'Dictionary of the Scots Language', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk>

*Dryb. Lib.* - *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh: Registrum cartarum abbacie Premonstratensis de Dryburgh*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1847)

*ECA* - Edinburgh City Archives



*Edinb. Chrs* - Marwick, James D., ed., *Charters and other documents relating to the City of Edinburgh AD1143-1540*, Scottish Burgh Records Society (Edinburgh, 1871)

*Edinb. Recs.* - Marwick, James D., ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, AD1403-1528*, Scottish Burgh Records Society (Edinburgh, 1869)

*ER* - Stuart, J., et al., eds., *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum, The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)

*Fasti* - Watt, D.E.R., and Murray, A.L., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, revised edn, Scottish Record Society, (Edinburgh, 2003)

HMC - Historical Manuscripts Commission

*Holyrood Lib.* - *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: Munimenta Ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1840)

*IR* - *Innes Review*

*JEH* - *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*

*Kelso Lib.* - *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: Registrum Cartarum Abbacie Tironensis de Kelso 1113-1567*, 2 vols, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1846)

*Lib. Plusc.* - Skene, F.J.H., ed., *Liber Pluscardensis*, vol. i (Edinburgh, 1877)

*Midlothian Charters, Midl. Chrs* - *Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and other Collegiate Churches in Midlothian*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1861)

*Morton Reg.* - *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, 2 vols, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1853)

*MRHS* - Easson, D.E., and Cowan, I.B., *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London, 1976)

NAS - Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland

*Newbattle Reg.* - *Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle: Abbacie Cisterciensis Beate Virginis de Neubotle Chartarium Vetus: Accedit Appendix Cartarum Originalium: 1140-1528*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1869)

NLS – Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

*Prot. Bk Young* – Donaldson, Gordon, ed., *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515*, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1952)

*Raine, North Durham* - Raine, James, ed., *The History and Antiquities of North Durham* (London, 1852)

RCAHMS – *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland*

RMS – *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ed. J.M. Thomson et al. (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)

*Rot. Scot.* - Macpherson, David, et al., eds., *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, 2 vols (London, 1814-19)

RRS – Barrow, G.W.S., et al., eds., *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vols i-ii, v-vi (London, 1958- )

RSCHS – *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*

RSS - Livingstone, M., et al., eds., *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908-1982)

SBRS – Scottish Burgh Record Society

SHR – *Scottish Historical Review*

SHS – Scottish History Society

SP – *The Scots Peerage*, ed. J. Balfour Paul, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904-14)

SRS – Scottish Record Society

*St Giles Reg.* – *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1859)

*St Nich. Cart.* - *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, 2 vols, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1888-1892)

STS – Scottish Record Society

TA - Dickson, Thomas, et al., eds., *Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877-1978)

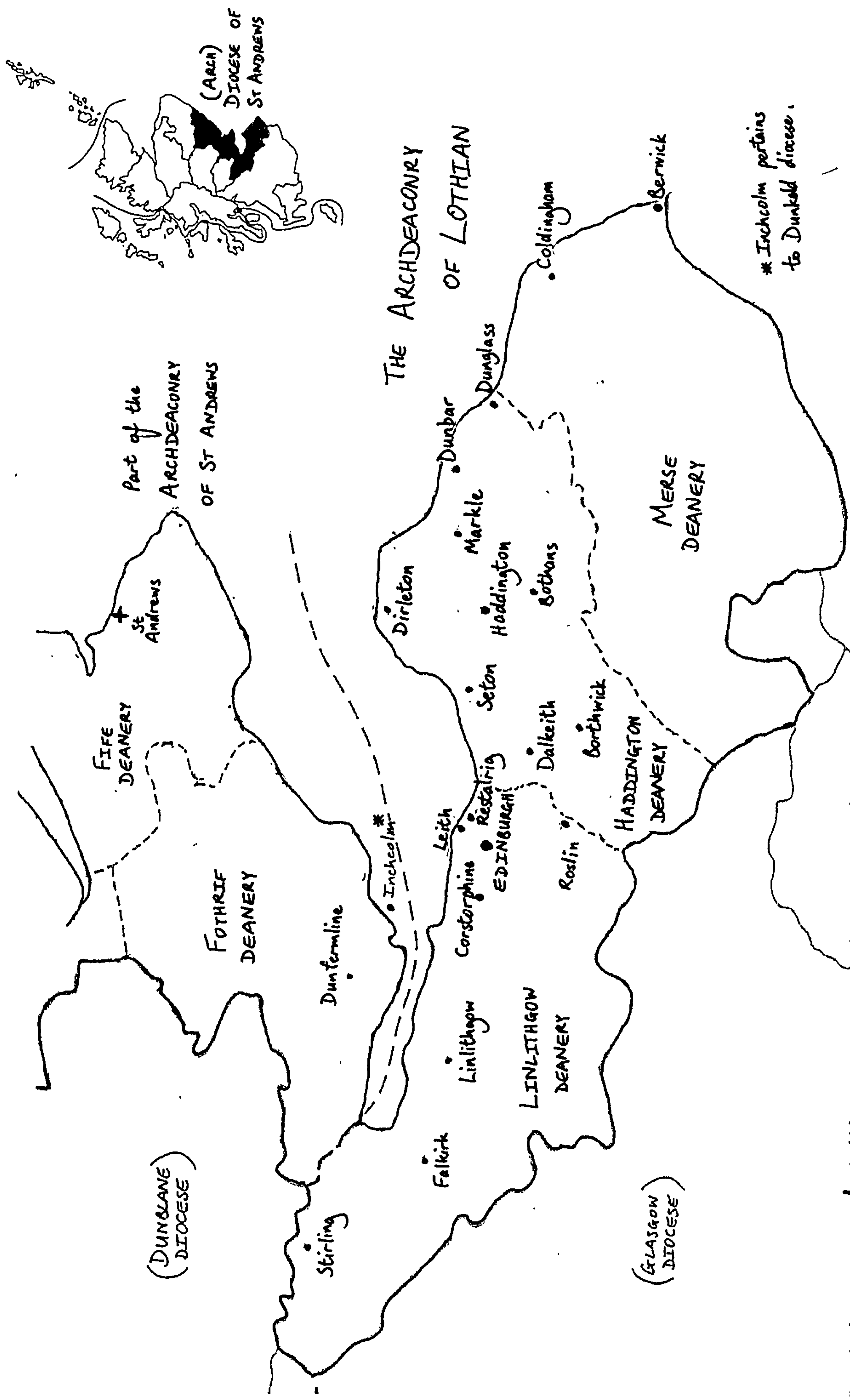


*Trinity Chrs - Charters and Documents relating to the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, AD1460-1661, Scottish Burgh Record Society (Edinburgh, 1871)*

*Vet. Mon. - Theiner, Augustinus, ed., Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia ... ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentiae tabulariis... 1216-1547 (Rome, 1864)*

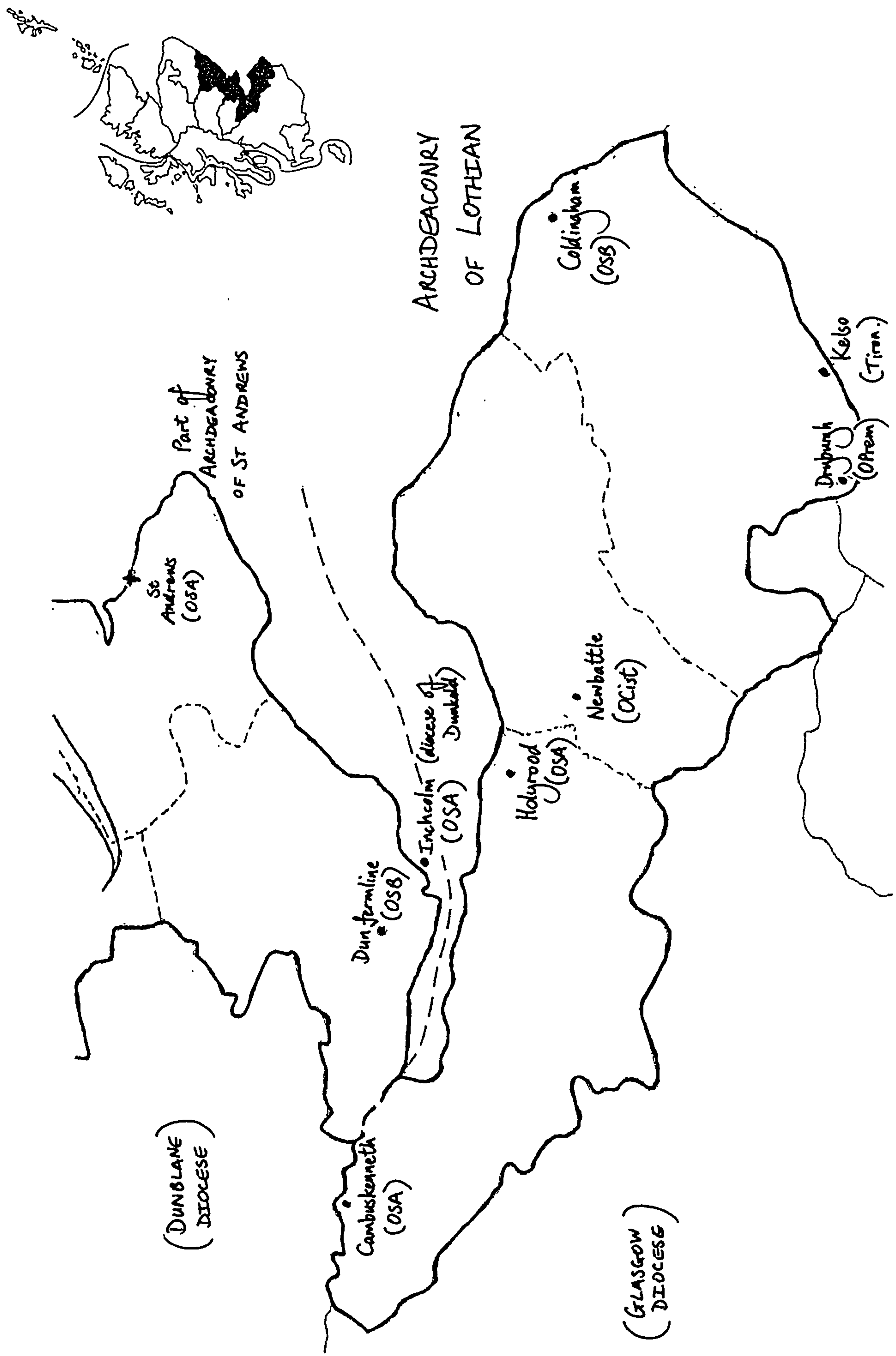
*Wyntoun ed. Amours - Wyntoun, Andrew, The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, ed. Amours, F.J., 6 vols, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1903-14)*

*Yester Writs - Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House 1166-1625, ed. Harvey, C.C.H., and MacLeod, J., Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1930)*

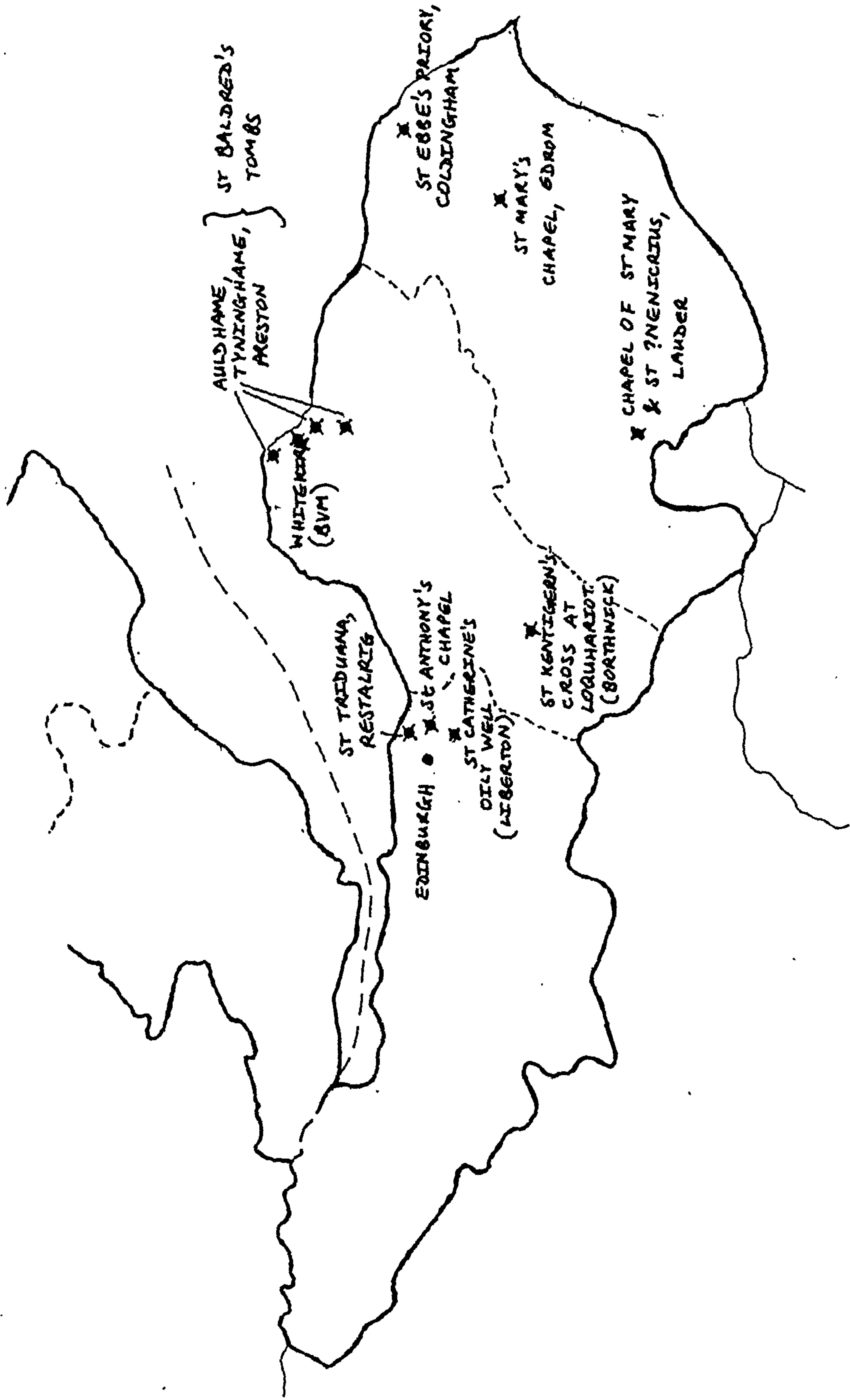


The Archdeaconry of Lothian, with principal places mentioned in Chapters 1-3.





Major Houses of monks and canons in the Archdeaconry of Lothian.



Known Saints' shrines in the Archdeaconry of Lothian.



## *Introduction*

Medieval Scotland was a community of the baptised. She was a Christian kingdom with a Christian king – a king who in only 1329 had finally gained papal permission to be crowned and anointed. Anyone remotely resembling an intellectual knew that he and his compatriots were rational animals with a supernatural end. That man's end was publicly known and generally uncontested did not mean that everyone behaved as if he took it seriously all or most of the time.<sup>1</sup> (The Christian religion, after all, claims to exist precisely because of man's miserable failure both to perceive the lowliness of his condition and to live up to its dignity.) Nonetheless, modern historians' hitherto rather limited interest in the practical consequences of medieval Scotland's Catholicism does not sit easily with any possible account of the medieval kingdom's public self-understanding, if by this phrase can be summarised such matters as the priorities of history-writers, public rhetoric and ceremonial. Which is a long-winded way of saying that, if in theory the single most important common enterprise in medieval Scotland was the sanctification and salvation of the Scots' souls, it is on the face of it odd that more attention has not been paid to the activities pertinent to this enterprise.

Religion in medieval Scotland is an ongoing historiographical problem. It is acknowledged to be under-researched, and it is certainly underappreciated. The main stream of historiography for high and late medieval Scotland in the last fifty, and particularly the last twenty-five, years has been political and constitutional in the broad sense of the terms – concerned, that is, with kings and magnates in the guise of the political

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<sup>1</sup> Note the (very standard) complaints that people put off confession until it is too late, in John Ireland's treatise on penance (?1480s) in *The Asloan Manuscript: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse written by John Asloan in the reign of James the Fifth*, ed W.A. Craigie, vol. i (STS, 1923), p.3; and a story of frivolous blasphemy in Abbot Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon* [compiled in the 1440s], ed. D.E.R. Watt, et al., 9 vols (1987-1998), Lib. VII c.59. Cf Alexander Murray, 'Piety and Impiety in thirteenth-century Italy', *Popular Belief and Practice*, eds. G.J. Cuming and Derek Baker, Studies in Church History viii (Cambridge, 1972).



community. The magisterial work of Geoffrey Barrow and A.A.M. Duncan, on the making of the kingdom called Scotland and its re-establishment after the post-1286 succession crisis,<sup>2</sup> has been followed by Alexander Grant and Jenny Wormald's 'new orthodoxy' of a consensus-driven, essentially stable late medieval polity,<sup>3</sup> and – challenging the Grant-Wormald approach – by the work of Norman Macdougall and his students.<sup>4</sup> Macdougall's subtitle to his *James III: a political study* could be repeated for the several royal biographies which now form the backbone of the literature for fifteenth-century Scotland. This is not to deny that there are other important historiographical strands. History and politics form one of these. The formation of national identity is a significant theme in Barrow and Duncan's work, and very important work on this front has been done by Dauvit Broun.<sup>5</sup> In connection with this, medieval Scottish historical writing has become a focus of attention.<sup>6</sup> Partly as a spin-off from political history,

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<sup>2</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: government, church and society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century* (London, 1973); *idem*, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (London, 1981); *idem*, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland* (London, 1965; 4<sup>th</sup> edn, Edinburgh, 2005); A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975); *idem*, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292: succession and independence* (Edinburgh, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Jennifer M. Brown [Jenny Wormald], 'The exercise of power', in *eadem*, ed., *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977); Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (Edinburgh, 1981); *eadem*, 'Taming the magnates', in K.J. Stringer, ed., *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985); Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1984).

<sup>4</sup> Norman Macdougall, *James III: a political study* (Edinburgh, 1982); *idem*, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989); Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996); Michael Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994); *idem*, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* (East Linton, 1998); *idem*, 'Scotland tamed? Kings and magnates in late medieval Scotland: a review of recent work', *IR* xlv (1994).

<sup>5</sup> Dauvit Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999).

<sup>6</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. Watt, especially vol ix; Barbara E. Crawford, ed., *Church, chronicle and learning in medieval and early renaissance Scotland: essays presented to Donald Watt on the occasion of the completion of the publication of Bower's Scotichronicon* (Edinburgh, 1999); Nicola Royan's work on Hector Boece, including 'The relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in S. Mapstone and J. Wood, eds., *The Rose and the Thistle* (East Linton, 1999); Roger Mason, 'Civil society and the Celts: Hector Boece, George Buchanan and the ancient Scottish past', in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay, eds., *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh, 2002); Steve Boardman, 'Chronicle propaganda in fourteenth-century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the "Anonymous Chronicle"', *SHR* lxxvi (1996); *idem*, 'Late medieval Scotland and the matter of Britain', in Cowan and Finlay, eds., *Scottish History*.



political thought has received attention from Roger Mason, Sally Mapstone and Michael Brown.<sup>7</sup> Literary culture, particularly in the times of James IV and V, is another major strand, including a new interest in court culture.<sup>8</sup>

Ecclesiastical institutions and religious culture have indeed not been neglected.<sup>9</sup> G.W.S. Barrow and the late D.E.R. Watt and Ian B. Cowan have produced indispensable work on the twelfth-century transformation of the Church in Scotland, and the organisation of the medieval Church.<sup>10</sup> Bishops James Kennedy of St Andrews and William Elphinstone of Aberdeen are the subjects of studies by Annie Dunlop and Leslie Macfarlane.<sup>11</sup> The importance for Scotland of Curia records have made relations with the papacy a significant focus of research, greatly helped by Glasgow University Scottish History Department's project to microfilm Scottish-related material from the Vatican's *Registra Supplicationum*.<sup>12</sup> Aspects of late medieval monasteries are covered in the late Mark Dilworth's articles and all-too-brief book from his Rhind Lectures.<sup>13</sup> For religious culture and devotional practices, the eclectic works of John Durkan and the late David McRoberts, largely published in

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<sup>7</sup> Roger A. Mason, 'Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', *SHR* lxvi (1987);

<sup>8</sup> The work of A.A. MacDonald, Sally Mapstone, and Priscilla Bawcutt is important.

<sup>9</sup> A still useful bibliography, although over twenty years old, is Ian B. Cowan, 'The Medieval Church in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* xxi (1983).

<sup>10</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, 'The royal house and the religious orders', 'Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians', 'The clergy at St Andrews', 'The clergy in the War of Independence', in *The Kingdom of the Scots*. D.E.R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2002); *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, '2nd draft' (St Andrew, 1969), and (with A.L. Murray) revised edn, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 2003); *idem*, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD1410* (Oxford, 1977); Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1967); Cowan's most important articles were posthumously edited by James Kirk as *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995).

<sup>11</sup> Annie I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1950); Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514* (Aberdeen, 1985).

<sup>12</sup> Robert Somerville, *Scotia Pontificia: Papal Letters to Scotland before the Pontificate of Innocent III* (Oxford, 1982); A.I. Cameron, *The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488*, St Andrews University Publications no xxxv (Oxford, 1934); A.I. Dunlop et al., eds., *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*, 5 vols to date (Edinburgh/Glasgow, 1934-); Andrew Barrell, *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378* (Cambridge, 1995); Williamson, Eila, 'Scottish Benefices and Clergy during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84): the evidence in the *Registra Supplicationum*', PhD thesis, (University of Glasgow, 1998).

<sup>13</sup> Mark Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995).



the *Innes Review*, have opened up the field on a wide variety of subjects. Indeed, the *Innes Review* as a whole, the journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, is extremely valuable. A.A. MacDonald has written on Scots religious poetry, and John Higgitt has published a detailed study of one Book of Hours in Scottish hands in the late middle ages.<sup>14</sup> David Ditchburn's *Scotland and Europe* is very helpful on Continental connections.<sup>15</sup> The religious orders have recently enjoyed three important new examinations: Janet Foggie on the Observant Dominicans, Kimm Curran's thesis on female religious houses, and Christina Strauch on Observant Franciscans.<sup>16</sup> There are also a small number of studies focussing on the practice of religion by the laity. The late Audrey-Beth Fitch's Glasgow thesis, 'The Search for Salvation: Lay faith in Scotland, 1480-1560', is a remarkable assemblage of material, although it is in places difficult to know what to do with it.<sup>17</sup> Fitch's methodology is to concentrate on 'images', on the grounds of a psychological model wherein images received form patterns of thought. She assembles from the extant Scottish material the 'images' of God, the saints, the afterlife and so on presented in pre-Reformation Scotland. On the one hand this is a useful and interesting collection of material, with some enlightening discussions; on the other, one is often left unsure which particular Scots in which particular times and places actually absorbed the images she finds.<sup>18</sup> Mairi Cowan's less ambitious thesis, 'Lay Piety in

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<sup>14</sup> Especially A.A. MacDonald, 'Catholic Devotion into Protestant Lyric: The Case of the the *Contemplacioun of Symmaris*', *IR* xxxv (1984). John Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West*, British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (London/Toronto, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214-1560*, vol. i (East Linton, 2001), esp. Ch.2.

<sup>16</sup> J.P. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450-1560* (Leiden, 2003); Kimberley Anne Curran, 'Religious Women and their Communities in Late Medieval Scotland', PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2006); Christina Strauch, 'Apostolic Poverty at the ends of the earth', Edinburgh University PhD thesis currently in process of examination.

<sup>17</sup> A.-B. Fitch, 'The Search for Salvation: Lay faith in Scotland, 1480-1560', PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 1994).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* pp.4-6. Fitch's article, 'Power Through Purity: The Virgin Martyrs and Women's Salvation in Pre-Reformation Scotland', in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen Meikle, eds, *Women in Scotland c.1100-c.1750* (East Linton, 1999), is similarly interesting but frustrating: over-reading of images, and the problem of dissemination and consumption of the texts and

Scotland before the Protestant Reformation: Individuals, Communities and Nations', is essentially a collection of case studies between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, including some very helpful discussion of the question of 'national' piety in the late middle ages and the problem of periodisation in sixteenth-century Scotland.<sup>19</sup> Margaret Sanderson's *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1625*<sup>20</sup> includes good general discussion of pre-Reformation parochial life, and particularly of pre-Protestant heresy.

This is not a comprehensive list of writing on the Church and religion in medieval Scotland, but it is still true that lay devotional practice has received relatively little attention. This is particularly obvious when the field is compared to English or French historiography. It should also be noted that a great deal of the most interesting material on culture is consciously 'pre-Reformation' rather than 'late medieval'. Two of the most important edited collections, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*<sup>21</sup> and *The Renaissance in Scotland*,<sup>22</sup> are typical of this focus.

It is also worth pointing out that, again in comparison to some other parts of Europe, there is still a relatively small quantity of research into medieval Scotland, or at any rate research and discussion at present tend to be rather thinly spread across the wide areas available. This is partly owing to the nature of the evidence, which is so patchy that it is particularly difficult to bring together different fields of historiography in a constructive manner. For example: when William Dunbar and Robert Henryson stand more or less isolated as knowable poets with fairly extensive surviving *opera* at the end of the fifteenth century, and rather little is also known of book production and the book market in Scotland at this time, it is extremely

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images referred to, leave one uncertain of the application of her conclusions in any particular context.

<sup>19</sup> Mairi Cowan, 'Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation: Individuals, Communities and Nations', PhD thesis (University of Toronto, 2003), especially Chs. 4 and 5.  
<sup>20</sup> (East Linton, 1997).

<sup>21</sup> ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962).

<sup>22</sup> *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, eds. A.A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 54 (Leiden, 1994)



difficult to know what to make of Dunbar and Henryson in the context of their contemporary writers and readers, even if excellent studies of the texts themselves and their later 'canonical' status for readers in James V's reign are in themselves very valuable.<sup>23</sup> Or again, when the north-eastern Scots *Legends of the Saints* are the only such vernacular collection extant, while the prologue (in which the compiler urges lords to listen to such edifying texts in their leisure time) is an excellent image of one form of lay consumption of entertaining devotional texts, its import is impossible to draw out much further given the lack of further information about patronage, dissemination and ownership of such texts.<sup>24</sup> Or more simply, if there is detailed evidence about the religious activities of certain families in certain regions, but insufficient comparable evidence to decide whether these families should be thought of as usual or unusual, it is difficult to move beyond quasi-antiquarian investigations of particular cases. And as will be seen shortly, the available evidence is indeed partial and patchy.

In an effort to open the field of investigation a little wider, this thesis intends to look at lay religious practice in a form which is novel in two respects: firstly it takes a regional approach, which has become common for France and England but has so far been surprisingly rare in Scottish historiography; and secondly it is not 'pre-Reformation', but 'late medieval', paying attention to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and rarely straying

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<sup>23</sup> The Asloan, Bannatyne and Maitland Manuscripts are the greatest sources for Middle Scots poetry. The earliest is the Asloan MS, compiled from c.1515, although John Asloan was active as a notary from the 1490s and it can be argued that his compilation reflects very conservative taste. Catherine van Buuren, 'John Asloan and his Manuscript: An Edinburgh notary and scribe in the days of James III, IV and V (c.1470-c.1530)', in *Stewart Style 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed. Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton, 1996), esp. pp.15-18, 51-2. Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The interaction between literature and history in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its prosopographical context', in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, eds. A.A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 54 (Leiden, 1994), pp.183-225. In the same volume is a study which is valuable for Henryson's own context: A.A. MacDonald, 'The Latin original of Robert Henryson's Annunciation lyric', pp.45-65. Priscilla Bawcutt, 'English Books and Scottish Readers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Review of Scottish Culture* xiv (2001-2), pp.1-12 is also important.

<sup>24</sup> W.M. Metcalfe, ed., *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, 3 vols, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1896), i.1-2.



beyond the death of James IV and much of the Scottish nobility in 1513. This decision of periodisation might be thought nearly suicidal, for there are far more sources about devotional life in Scotland dating from the thirty or forty years immediately before the Reformation. However, it seems that there is good reason to consider that the generation before the Reformation were living in a different world. Within Scotland, the king and prominent nobility had almost all been wiped out at the battle of Flodden in 1513; further afield, Scotland encountered new Lutheran heresies, a newly schismatic England, and new currents of reform within the Church. There seems no particularly strong reason to assume that the experience of this generation was representative of the previous generations; indeed it would seem more probable that it was not.<sup>25</sup> It is therefore hoped that a study of the period between Robert Bruce and James IV will shed more light on conditions before the rise of concern related to the Reformation.

Lothian is a problematic and interesting region in the national history of Scotland. 'Lothian' refers to the south-easterly region south of Forth and north of Tweed. The early history of this region is not Scottish, properly speaking. It was the home of the Britons who produced the *Gododdin* in the seventh century. It was within the sphere of the Northumbrian church of Lindisfarne: St Cuthbert's education was at Old Melrose in Lothian, St Ebbe was abbess of Coldingham, the hermit Balthere or Baldred, praised by Alcuin, lived on a rock in the Forth.<sup>26</sup> The origins of the name 'Lothian' are uncertain; it is mythically connected with King Loth or Lot, and is apparently Brittonic rather than anything else. Yet the earliest known use is late eleventh century. Lothian is only shakily incorporated into the narrative of Scottish national history as developed by c.1300, and most of Scotland's national saints were not primarily active in Lothian. This was perhaps partly remedied by King Lot's connections. As Sir Gawain's father he brought

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<sup>25</sup> Compare Mairi Cowan's recent discussion of the problems with the Scottish historiographical habit of ending the middle ages in 1560: Cowan, 'Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation', Ch. 5.

<sup>26</sup> See Chapter Six for discussion of Baldred.

Lothian into the Arthurian world, while the Lives of St Kentigern of Glasgow make him father of St Thenew and (unwilling) grandfather of St Kentigern, which goes some way to bring Lothian into the mainstream of Scottish ecclesiastical history. It is nonetheless not possible to read the early books of later medieval chronicles and find a coherent place for Lothian within the carefully Scottish narrative constructed.<sup>27</sup>

The region seems to have been definitely within the sphere of the kings of Scots by the mid tenth century. As Geoffrey Barrow points out, the authority of the bishop of St Andrews in Lothian was very firmly grounded, while the monks of St Cuthbert did not manage to retain their ancient landholdings north of Tweed.<sup>28</sup> *Laodonia* was not, however, part of *Scotia*: these terms referred to areas which were geographically separate, divided by the Forth, until the end of the thirteenth century. The two justiciars for north and south of Forth were the justiciars of *Scotia* and *Laodonia*; one travelled from *Laodonia* to *Scotia* by crossing the Forth, the 'Scots Sea'. Only gradually did *Scotia* come to refer to the kingdom of the Scots as a whole, so that in the late middle ages *Laodonia* was a region within *Scotia*.<sup>29</sup>

Lothian's history has left it with certain regional peculiarities within the kingdom of Scotland. As a chiefly lowland region of useful land, it could support a relatively high level of cultivation and settlement. In his description of the kingdom prefacing his *Historia Scotorum* (1527), Hector Boece remarked upon the land's fertility and many prominent towns, with Edinburgh outstanding among them.<sup>30</sup> Not having been part of 'Scotia proper', Lothian held the seat and lands of none of the ancient earls or regional lordships, except for the Earl of March at Dunbar in the south-east;

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<sup>27</sup> See Bower's *Scotichronicon* (the early books of which are largely John Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scottorum*), and Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (1420s), edited in 6 vols by F.J. Amours, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1903-1914).

<sup>28</sup> The puzzling nature of Lothian as a region is convincingly discussed in G.W.S. Barrow, *The Border: An inaugural lecture*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 26<sup>th</sup> February 1962 (Durham, 1962), pp.10-15.

<sup>29</sup> Dauvit Broun, 'Defining Scotland and the Scots before the Wars of Independence', in D. Broun, R.J. Finlay and M. Lynch, eds, *Image and Identity* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.4-12.

<sup>30</sup> Hector Boece (Boethius), *Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine...* [Paris, 1527] (NLS, shelfmark H.33.f.8), fos x-xi.

and held none of the sacral landmarks of the Scottish kings (Iona, Scone, later Dunfermline). Partly as a result of this, it was one of the areas most heavily marked by the novelties of twelfth-century kingship, in terms of secular land-holding, town building, and the introduction of the new religious orders.<sup>31</sup> It contained several significant burghs, primarily Berwick, Edinburgh and Stirling. Building on the existence of early churches and chapels, in which traces of a Northumbrian 'minster' system of cure are visible, the parish system seems to have become established relatively quickly. The region became one of the archdeaconries of the diocese of St Andrews, divided into the deaneries of Linlithgow, Haddington and Merse.<sup>32</sup> By the end of the thirteenth century, it contained one of Scotland's densest parish networks, with some hundred and ten parishes from Stirling to Berwick.<sup>33</sup> St Andrews diocese was by far the richest in Scotland, and Lothian included some of its wealthiest parishes.<sup>34</sup>

In the 'Wars of Independence' after 1296 and the continuing conflicts of the fourteenth century, Lothian was subject to considerable disruption. It was one of the major arenas of warfare and raiding, vulnerable to English occupation.<sup>35</sup> In and after Robert Bruce's restoration of government, some reshuffling of its major landowners also took place, with certain lords forfeited and some smaller families reaching new prominence.<sup>36</sup> Lothian was

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<sup>31</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (Edinburgh, 1981), Chs 3-4.

<sup>32</sup> An archdeacon of Lothian is first recorded in 1144; by c.1150 the archdeaconry was divided between the deaneries of Lothian and Fogo or Merse; in the mid thirteenth century the deanery of Lothian was subdivided into the deaneries of Linlithgow and Haddington. Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, pp.399, 412-7

<sup>33</sup> Peter G.B. McNeill and Hector L. MacQueen, eds., *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp.348-9.

<sup>34</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Medieval Diocese of St Andrews', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews*, ed. John Higgitt, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1986 (Leeds, 1994), pp.1-2.

<sup>35</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, p.127. See also G.W.S. Barrow, 'Lothian in the First War of Independence', in *idem, Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), on the participation of Lothian men in the wars. Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 130-131, 136-7 (wasting of Lothian 1337-8), p.148 (English advances in the south in 1347).

<sup>36</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* p.363 for the forfeiture of Enguerand de Guines, giving Robert lands in Berwickshire and East Lothian to



not, however, central to Robert's personal interests. His son David II, inheriting in 1329 at the age of five, was sent to safety in France between 1334 and 1341, and was then captured by the English at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, only returning to Scotland in 1357.<sup>37</sup> Michael Penman has recently shown that he took more interest in Lothian, in assembling a group of close supporters around the Firth of Forth. The south-east more generally was also the scene of the rise of a new power in Scotland, the Douglas family. William Douglas of Liddesdale and William lord of Douglas – respectively the nephew and second cousin of Robert Bruce's companion, the 'Good Sir James' Douglas – became successful leaders of men in the central marches of Scotland, while resisting the incursions of Edward Balliol (former king John Balliol's heir), his 'disinherited' Scots followers, and the English. The lord of Douglas was made the first earl of Douglas in 1358.<sup>38</sup>

Lothian was not a region central to the politics of the reigns of the first Stewart kings, Roberts II and III. But during the fifteenth century Lothian became more central to the kingdom in various respects. Magnatial power blocks in the south-east and the marches were again at issue during James I's captivity in England when the fourth earl of Douglas built up a strong affinity in Lothian, becoming a serious rival to the earl of March as the major marcher magnate, and indeed rivalling the governor of the kingdom, the king's brother Robert duke of Albany, as Scotland's greatest lord.<sup>39</sup> In James I's personal reign after 1424, the king benefited from the death of the fourth earl of Douglas at the battle of Verneuil and established his own men in Lothian.<sup>40</sup> After James I's assassination in 1437, Lothian was a notable theatre of conflict between the Crichton and Livingstone families, who had both

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be granted to others; p.364 for Balliol loss of old de Quinci lands in East Lothian; pp.370-371 on the rise of the Setons and Lauders in East Lothian.

<sup>37</sup> Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, pp.147, 163.

<sup>38</sup> See Michael Brown, *The Black Douglasses: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* (East Linton, 1998), Ch. 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* Ch. 5. Douglas's military activity in France and his diplomatic involvement with Martin V and the Council of Constance gave him considerably more international cachet than Albany. *Ibid.* pp.196-9, 214-224. See also Michael Brown, *James I* (East Linton, 1994), pp.26-7.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* pp.42-4, 52-4.

benefited from serving James I and who went on to rise spectacularly as rivals during the minority of James II. Their power-bases were in Lothian (Crichton is a parish in Midlothian, and Livingstone in West Lothian), and the 1440s saw mutual attacks on their lands and houses.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile, Edinburgh and its port of Leith – benefiting from Scotland's loss of Berwick – was gradually growing to channel a far larger share of exports than the other Scottish burghs. It was becoming 'famous and populous in comparison to other towns of the kingdom of Scotland', in the rhetoric of a supplication to the pope of 1466.<sup>42</sup> James III, an unusually and stubbornly un-peripatetic king, based his government in Edinburgh, and although James IV was a famous traveller within his kingdom, judicial and governmental business in his reign was still centred in the kingdom's greatest burgh. Edinburgh was becoming something like a capital city.

In the sphere of religious practice, certain visible developments in late medieval Scotland are very marked in Lothian. The most prominent group of new institutions founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the secular colleges. A high proportion of colleges founded by noblemen were within Lothian. The major royal collegiate foundations of the later fifteenth century are also within Lothian: Trinity College and Restalrig near Edinburgh, and the Chapel Royal at Stirling.

Lothian is thus a distinctive region within Scotland, and one which in the late middle ages, particularly the fifteenth century, was politically and culturally central to the kingdom. This thesis does not pretend to offer a comprehensive examination of lay religious practice within the archdeaconry of Lothian. It is rather a foray into some areas which have not yet received much attention, following the available evidence. 'Lay piety' is not intended as a particularly specific term. I have taken it in a practical sense to cover activity, on the part of laypeople, with an explicitly religious end. This

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<sup>41</sup> Brown, *The Black Douglases*, p.237; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, pp. 328-342, 348-352.

<sup>42</sup> Augustinus Theiner, ed, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia ... ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentinae tabulariis...* 1216-1547 (Rome, 1864), no dcccxlvi. (See Chapter Five below.)



includes all points from a confirmation of a charter with a token *pro salute animarum* clause (if there is reason to believe that it is only token), to an annotated book of hours strongly indicative of personal devotional practice. For the most part there is little that can be said about the degree of devotion in the soul of any given individual engaged in such activity; and as will become clear, in this thesis these activities are as often as not discussed in a context as much social and political as religious – inasmuch as the distinction is valid. The use of the word ‘piety’ is also intended to recall *pietas* in its wider sense, for it seems that the fact that pious deeds were (and were almost universally known to be) good things to do, proper to one’s state of life – as king; knight; widow; a child of parents, a member of a family – should not be underestimated, or distinguished too strictly from the inward aspect of personal piety.<sup>43</sup>

This thesis examines first the pious projects which are known to be distinctive to Lothian: the noble and royal foundations of collegiate churches. First the history of the collegiate church in Scotland is outlined, then the Lothian foundations discussed in greater detail. The royal colleges are set in the context of royal pious interests in Lothian more generally. James IV’s almsgiving in Lothian and the development of the Chapel Royal in Scotland, culminating in James IV’s new foundation at Stirling, are examined in some detail. The remaining chapters look at three areas which have hitherto received relatively little attention: the laity’s spiritual relationships with the monasteries; the urban parish of St Giles’, Edinburgh; and the cult of the saints within Lothian. Very little will be said about friars. This is clearly a major lacuna; the reason for it is that there is scarcely any documentation for the earlier period, and for the activities of the Observants from the mid fifteenth century Janet Foggie’s recent book and Christina Strauch’s thesis are

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<sup>43</sup> Compare Alasdair MacIntyre’s argument that Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment philosophy has created an ‘emotivist’ concept of self, which places social roles in opposition to the ‘true’ individual self. Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A study in moral theory* 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1985), Chs.2-3, esp. pp.31-5. This is absolutely not to suggest that there was no concern for the relationship between interior disposition and visible works.



more or less comprehensive examinations of the (fragmentary) evidence. Female religious houses are also not discussed here, as another thesis has just been completed on female religious houses in medieval Scotland.<sup>44</sup>

The sources for lay piety in late medieval Lothian are fragmentary and partial. The most obvious sources used in England and France, namely wills, are almost completely unavailable. Very little survives of commissary court records for pre-Reformation Scotland. The earliest extant volume for Lothian is a small selection of testaments of 1513-1539 at the Edinburgh Commissary Court. A very few testaments have also survived by chance, among family papers. Diocesan records for medieval Scotland as a whole are also almost completely absent. Owing to both the enthusiasm of Reformers and the general instability of the seventeenth century, devotional and liturgical books and artwork have survived in very small numbers, and the interiors of churches have suffered enormously: it is telling that the only remaining *in situ* pre-Reformation Scottish stained glass depicts secular heraldry in windows of the Magdalen Chapel (1550s) in Edinburgh's Cowgate.

A diverse selection of sources must therefore be examined to glean what one can. The royal Register of the Great Seal is useful for royal grants and for royal confirmations of alienations to the Church, although in places it is patchy (particularly for Roberts II and III). For royal outlay the Exchequer Rolls and Treasurer's Accounts are essential, although the latter, by far the more useful, only survive from James III's reign. Where they survive, the cartularies of religious houses are the main source for the monasteries (the peculiarities of these collections will be discussed in Chapter Four); most of these were published by the nineteenth-century publishing clubs. Some of the family collections and other charter collections in the National Archives of Scotland and National Library of Scotland have been used where useful selections of material related to families' ecclesiastical interests survive. The collections of charters and other documents acquired by antiquaries such as

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<sup>44</sup> See note 16.

David Laing (whose charter collection is now in Edinburgh University Library) also contain some useful material, and the extensive notes of seventeenth-century antiquarians such as Ludovic Stewart and Richard Augustine Hay sometimes contain notes of manuscripts since lost. Papal records of supplications to and letters from the popes are particularly valuable for Scotland given the loss of diocesan material. These are in microfilm in Glasgow University, and are partially calendared in the *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, and the *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*.

The most important chronicle of late medieval Scotland was Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*, compiled in the 1440s as a continuation of John of Fordun's *Historia Gentis Scottorum*. The Fordun-Bower chronicle tradition is central to Scottish historical writing, and, apart from being a guide to what happened when, is full of amusing and edifying anecdotes with religious subject-matter. Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm, is one of the few personalities in medieval Scotland with whom one can become well acquainted. Bower was probably a native of Haddington, and Inchcolm was an Augustinian house on an island in the Firth of Forth. The *Scotichronicon* therefore has a good deal of Lothian local colour.

In some respects the available source material has proved richer than expected, but one cannot be confident that a representative picture has been produced, and all conclusions are forced to be rather tentative.

### **A note on usages**

Scots terms have been used where relevant throughout. Thus 'merks' is used in preference to 'marks', 'teinds' to 'tithes', 'ferms' to 'farms'. All currency mentioned here is in Scots unless indicated otherwise. (Pounds Sterling and pounds Scots were of the same value until c.1400, but diverged significantly thereafter.) Non-graduate clergy are titled 'Sir' (*Dominus, Schir*).



'Mr' is used to abbreviate 'Master'. Dates are given as if the year begins on 1<sup>st</sup> January.

Most importantly, the usual Scots equivalent of 'chantry' was 'chaplainry' or 'chaplaincy', reflecting the almost invariable use in Latin of *capellania* (usually in the form *capellania perpetua*) rather than *cantaria*. 'Chaplainry' is used throughout here.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, eds R.E. Latham and D.R. Howlett (Oxford, 1975- ), inadequately distinguishes this usage of *capellania*: s.vv. *cantaria* sense 2, and *capellania*. *Capellania* is given only its generic meaning of a chaplain's post, while in Scottish sources it can have a more concrete meaning. Cf. also the Latin-French dictionary of Firmin le Ver (d.1444): B. Merrilees and W. Edwards, ed.s, *Firmini Verris Dictionarius: Dictionnaire Latin-Français de Firmin le Ver*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, Series in 4° I: *Lexica Latina Medii Aevi*, I (Turnhout, 1994): *cappelania* is interpreted as *chappellerie* or *prebenda*, which *cantaria* is absent (and *cantoria* is the cantor's office).

## Chapter One

### *The Rise of the Noble Collegiate Church in Lothian*

The preeminent new foundations in late medieval Lothian were the secular colleges or collegiate churches. Indeed, they were the preeminent foundations in the late medieval kingdom as a whole. Some discussion of the rise of the collegiate church in Scotland is necessary before considering the Lothian colleges in detail; and some discussion of the secular college in general is required before this. In this chapter the rise of secular colleges is analysed, primarily in terms of fashion among the nobility of Scotland and Lothian.

#### **I. *Collegium*: secular colleges in medieval Europe**

The secular college or collegiate church is an entity defined by such minimal criteria that it is almost unhelpful to bracket together all the institutions which can bear the name. Any corporation with legal personality might certainly be a college; further, any community with a common responsibility might be described as a 'college', even if it was not constitutionally incorporated as such. Thus the many chaplains in Edinburgh's parish church of St Giles were referred to as the 'college' even before St Giles' had been erected into a collegiate church.<sup>1</sup> James V's new civil court was 'ane college of cunning and wise men', the College of Justice.<sup>2</sup> The breadth of the term's resonance can be seen in the lyrical hope of Sir John Fortescue that England might be 'a college in which shall sing and pray

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<sup>1</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no. 58: 'the observance of the college of the said kyrk', 17<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1447. St Giles' became collegiate in 1466.

<sup>2</sup> '...ane college of cunning and wise men baith of spirituale and temporale estate.' *APS* ii.335 (May 1532).



for evermore all the men of England, spiritual and temporal.’<sup>3</sup> In ecclesiastical terms, however, a college was properly a corporation of clerics serving in a particular church or chapel, or at a particular altar – Knowles and Hadcock describe such a corporation as ‘the lowest common denominator of the religious life’.<sup>4</sup> More specifically, an institution referred to as a collegiate church was always secular; and generally the churches called collegiate were not cathedral churches, although the two types of institution were recognised to be analogous.<sup>5</sup> In talking about secular colleges or collegiate churches we are therefore in effect dealing with legally instituted and endowed corporations of secular clergy, apart from cathedral chapters.<sup>6</sup>

This makes the field somewhat narrower, but it remains a broad one. Collegiate churches are to be found throughout Europe, from the early middle ages onwards, in various forms in different times and places. Colleges as we find them by about 1300 have tended to be divided into two categories: cathedral-type colleges, and chantry colleges. The former were on the whole large, well-endowed foundations which are indeed like cathedrals with chapters but no dioceses, with separate benefices for the members. They were largely survivals of early medieval foundations. In England, some of the minsters which provided ‘pastoral care before the parish’ survived as large collegiate institutions, most notably in Yorkshire at Ripon, Beverley and Southwell. In Flanders and France, large collegiate churches had been endowed by princes, and remained prestigious establishments close to secular powers: St-Donatian in Bruges, for example. However, although minster-type churches may have ministered to Christians of early medieval southern Scotland, no endowed collegiate foundations are known in

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<sup>3</sup> *The Governance of England*, quoted by M. Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1990), p.239.

<sup>4</sup> D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), pp.38-9.

<sup>5</sup> As implied by the similar treatment accorded to dignities within collegiate churches and cathedrals respectively in supplications for, and papal disposition of, benefices.

<sup>6</sup> Note that this does not necessarily exclude colleges of choral vicars in cathedrals.

Scotland before 1250; no Scottish colleges are quite parallel to the large early medieval colleges found elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

Chantry colleges are distinguished from the first type by their defined purpose: the function of the priests in these colleges was primarily to celebrate masses for the benefit of the founder or other specified souls. In short, they were incorporated multiple chantries, which might or might not be organised so that each cleric held his own benefice. This type of college was the more common among later medieval foundations; even academic colleges can be classed as a sub-set of this group. Almost all Scottish colleges are of this chantry variety.

This broad division is derived from the taxonomy of English colleges offered by Hamilton-Thompson and Knowles and Hadcock, who describe the early 'cathedral type' collegiate churches, 'chantry' colleges, and academic colleges.<sup>8</sup> However, there has been relatively limited interest in colleges as a category in the rest of Britain and Europe. While academic colleges have received considerable attention, and certain individual colleges have been well studied, colleges in general have not been a collective object of study. It has more recently been recognised for England, at least, that the secular college acquired a peculiar importance in the late middle ages, and thus deserves more focussed attention. This has so far borne fruit in a conference devoted to English colleges in the later middle ages, which demonstrated that the existing models for classifying and understanding colleges are not adequate.<sup>9</sup> Possibly the most helpful recent treatment of English colleges has been written by Clive Burgess, one of this conference's organisers (in the context of an examination of St George's College,

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<sup>7</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters* v.1253 (Kollegiatkirche); *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Moyen Âge*, ed. A. Vauchez (Cambridge/Paris/Rome, 1997), i.356 (Collégiale); I.B. Cowan, 'The Post-Columban Church', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* xviii (1974).

<sup>8</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, pp.38-9; A.H. Thompson, 'English Colleges of Chantry Priests', *Transactions of the Ecclesiological Society* n.s. vol. i pt 2 (1943), pp.93-5.

<sup>9</sup> University of York, April 2004. The organisers Clive Burgess and Martin Heale are editing the proceedings for publication.



Windsor).<sup>10</sup> While the broad distinctions can act as a starting point, the contexts, endowments and activities of the many secular colleges are so varied that this typology is not necessarily helpful when looking at any one college or group of colleges.

## II. Scottish colleges: historiography

Various Scottish colleges have been studied by earlier historians. However, the only earlier study to consider the colleges *en masse* is found in two articles by David Easson in 1938-9, on the 'characteristics' and 'significance' of collegiate churches in Scotland.<sup>11</sup> While Easson was a scrupulous scholar, and these articles remain valuable inasmuch as they are the only comprehensive approach to Scottish colleges in print, they are now problematic in two respects.

Firstly, they have been superseded in some details by later scholarship. John Durkan has examined the individual histories of a number of colleges, uncovering details unknown to Easson. Ian Cowan's revision of Easson's *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* drew together more up-to-date outline histories of the colleges' foundations and development. George Hay has discussed the architecture of collegiate churches. More generally, Easson's contextualisation of the Scottish colleges requires modification in light of the work of the intervening generations of ecclesiastical historians.<sup>12</sup>

Secondly, Easson approached Scotland's collegiate churches as a unified group, paying little attention to chronological developments or specific historical context. Unsurprisingly, neither the subsequent studies of

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<sup>10</sup> Clive Burgess, 'St George's College, Windsor: Context and Consequence', in Nigel Saul, ed., *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp.79-88.

<sup>11</sup> D.E. Easson, 'The collegiate churches of Scotland' pts I and II, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* vi, vii (1938-9)

<sup>12</sup> J. Durkan, 'Foundation of the collegiate church of Seton', *Innes Review* xiii (1962); *idem*, 'The sanctuary and college of Tain', *Innes Review* xiii (1962); G. Hay, 'The architecture of Scottish collegiate churches', in G.W.S. Barrow, ed., *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in honour of Ronald Gordon Cant* (Edinburgh, 1974)

individual colleges, nor Cowan and Easson's valuable but necessarily limited gazetteer, attempt (or intend) to present a more fully nuanced study.

Colleges have indeed been recognised as a prominent feature in the ecclesiastical landscape, and have been pointed out as such in the existing surveys of late medieval Scotland. Alexander Grant refers to them as evidence of the vitality of Catholicism in this period. Most notably, Ranald Nicholson makes penetrating, if brief, observations on colleges at several points in *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*.<sup>13</sup> These historians all draw attention to colleges as noble projects of piety and prestige. Again, however, they do not, and do not intend to, offer a full discussion of colleges in context. These limitations in the existing historiography – not an unusual situation for any aspect of medieval Scotland – are made more pressing by the difficulty of taking a more comparative approach which results from the relative deficit of wider writing on the subject. It is therefore necessary to sketch the prehistory, as it were, of Lothian's colleges, by considering the appearance of collegiate institutions in the kingdom.

### III. Early colleges: St Andrews, Abernethy and Dunbar

The first two colleges in Scotland were both secularised religious houses, and in both cases it seems that the form they ended up taking was determined pragmatically rather than by any grand design. The first of these was the Chapel Royal of St-Mary-on-the-Rock in St Andrews. This church had belonged to the *céli Dé* of St Andrews, still in the mid twelfth century a community of hereditary clergy, who served in the cathedral as well as in the neighbouring St Mary's church. As Professor Barrow has convincingly shown, the bishops of St Andrews in the first half of the thirteenth century strove to correct what seemed a serious ecclesiastical anachronism. They did this primarily by means of granting portions formerly belonging to

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<sup>13</sup> A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1984), p.95; R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp.388-9.



individual *céli Dé* to episcopal and royal clerks, some of considerable standing. This development was probably finalised in 1248-9, when the clerics (still sometimes referred to as the *céli Dé*) seem to have been fully transferred, with their prebends, from the cathedral to St Mary's church. By the end of the thirteenth century the church was known as the Chapel Royal.<sup>14</sup>

An operation possibly similar to that performed at St Andrews then appears to have taken place at Abernethy. This *céli Dé* house was occupied by Augustinian canons in 1272/3; but nothing can be said about its Augustinian phase beyond this, as it is known only from a bald remark in the *Scotichronicon*: *Hoc anno factus est prioratus de Abirnethyn in canonicos regulares, qui prius fuerunt Cheldei*.<sup>15</sup> Who initiated this, or what sort of clergy the 'Cheldei' actually were by this point, is quite unknown. Two generations later, however, in 1328x31, the house was changed into a college of secular canons under a prior, by John Stewart, earl of Angus, with his wife Margaret Abernethy, heiress of Abernethy. Had resources matched ambition, this would have reached the impressive total of ten canons, but only five were realised.<sup>16</sup> The complete absence of early documentation for this college outwith papal sources means that we are ignorant of the duties of its canons, or the intentions of Angus and his wife in reorganising the house. It is only by the end of the fourteenth century, once patronage was with the Douglas earls of Angus, that we receive glimpses of the patrons' interests, and then only in the limited sphere of benefice-disposal visible through papal sources. Thus in 1395 a canonry and prebend were used to support a student, while in 1408 a canonry and prebend, with residence dispensed, were allocated to the tutor of William, earl of Angus.<sup>17</sup> This was a house as well of useful

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<sup>14</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, 'The clergy at St Andrews', in *idem*, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973), pp.212-232, esp. pp.213, 218-221, 222, 226 n.70, 228-9.

<sup>15</sup> Abbot Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D.E.R. Watt et al., 9 vols. (Aberdeen, Edinburgh, 1987-98), Lib. X c.33.

<sup>16</sup> MRHS p.215, for excellent concise discussion. CPL iv.214-5.

<sup>17</sup> F. McGurk, ed., *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon 1394-1419*, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1976) [*Benedict XIII Letters*], pp.35, 187-8.

resources as of prayer (although absent clerics were presumably obliged to provide vicars), and in this respect very similar to the Chapel Royal at St Andrews. Such use of college benefices will be considered in the next chapter.

Although it is necessary to note both these establishments, their importance as a precedent for later colleges, including Lothian's colleges, is unclear. As we will see, they do not in fact appear to provide a direct model for the later noble foundations which constitute the most significant group of Scotland's colleges. However, their influence may, given their poorly documented condition, have been greater than is evident.

In turning to the third secular college founded in Scotland, the collegiate church of Dunbar, we turn to the first college in Lothian. Dunbar was founded in 1342 by Patrick [V] Dunbar, earl of March, in the parish church of Dunbar. This church was next to his castle of Dunbar, and was within his patronage. The college's foundation charter is happily extant<sup>18</sup>: the establishment is composed of the dignities of dean and archpriest, 8 canon prebendaries, and, implicitly, choirboys.<sup>19</sup> The prebends are founded largely on ecclesiastical incomes, from appropriated churches and chapels. Provision is made for chapters to be held, distribution of certain incomes, a common seal, and a chest with specified key-holders for the preservation of the college's resources. Daily masses were required, with a special mass for the dead on Mondays. Earls of Dunbar were also to be particularly commemorated when news was received of their death, with particular provision being made for their names to be recorded in a martyrology 'or other book'. Anniversaries were to be kept for earls of Dunbar and bishops of St Andrews.

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<sup>18</sup> 'Foundation-charter of the collegiate church of Dunbar, A.D. 1342', ed. D.E. Easson, *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* vi (1939), pp.81-109, text pp.89-97.

<sup>19</sup> Suggested by the fact that the dean was to have *regimine scholarum*. *Ibid.* p.92. This may indicate that both schools found at Dunbar in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (*ibid.* p.85) were already there in 1342, but, given the very late dates (17<sup>th</sup> century and later) of the extant copies of the text, it cannot be taken as certain.



Although such detailed requirements are not known for St Andrews and Abernethy, it is clear that Dunbar differed in constitutional outline from the two earlier colleges. Perhaps more importantly, it was not the result of reforming an existing corporate institution. The college was erected *ex nihilo*, as it were, and located, as said, in a parish church. It is therefore something of a landmark, as the first original foundation of a secular college in the kingdom; and it stands out still more if one contrasts Scotland with England – as earls of March tended to be in a good position to do – where there was already a fairly large number of nobly-founded colleges. What, then, was Earl Patrick's reason for investing in this ecclesiastical novelty? As usual, for want of evidence the earl's personal motivations are lost to us. However, the unprecedented nature of the college was undoubtedly known to its founder. The foundation charter itself, moreover, gives the impression that an extravagant gesture was being made.

As David Easson pointed out, Dunbar tends slightly more to the older cathedral-like collegiate church – as found in England, and very widely in the Low Countries – than the essentially chantry colleges more typical of the late middle ages, even if its main function was indeed the celebration of masses for souls.<sup>20</sup> Its dignities – the dean, the principal, and the archpriest, responsible for cure of souls in the parish, – do appear nominally in English chantry-type foundations of the time, but, as Easson says, the archpriests found there are not defined by cure of souls.<sup>21</sup> He might have added that this role for the archpriest reflects some continental usage, where the *archipresbyter* oversees the cure of churches in a certain area<sup>22</sup>; this function is mirrored in miniature by the Dunbar archpriest's job of overseeing four of Dunbar's five dependent chapels (the fifth, Whittinghame, essentially had parochial status, and was the dean's portion of both income and

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<sup>20</sup> Easson, 'Foundation-charter of Dunbar', p.83.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* It is clear that cure is the *defining* characteristic for the archpriestship, given that even in the initial listing of officers to be installed in the college the archpriest appears as *archipresbyter parochianorum et capellarum parochialium curam gerens.*

<sup>22</sup> J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.v..

responsibility).<sup>23</sup> The rather grand term 'martyrology' used for the obit-book to be kept by the church, perhaps more often associated with a monastery's or cathedral's book, similarly suggests a certain deliberacy in constructing a constitution of suitable dignity<sup>24</sup>; as does the implication that there would be boy choristers.

This use of status symbols – in the purest sense of the terms – is congruent with Dunbar's long-held position of local ecclesiastical eminence: as Barrow points out, Dunbar parish's large size and several dependent chapels suggests that this might well have been a minster-like clerical centre of the early middle ages.<sup>25</sup> Its unusual dedication to St *Bæ* (possibly the Northumbrian Bega or Bee), may suggest antiquity, and recent archaeological investigation has given rise to the suggestion that there may indeed have been an ecclesiastical centre associated with the early medieval fort at Dunbar.<sup>26</sup> If any tradition remained concerning an ancient pre-eminence, the new college may indeed have reflected it, although it seems unlikely that any very specific associations remained: one might expect that the foundation charter, or supplications to Rome, would mention any antique illustriousness. Yet however significant or otherwise the historical dimension, the mere fact that this college was set hard by the stronghold of his Marcher lordship suggests that Earl Patrick knew precisely what sort of impression his foundation would give. While providing for his soul and those of his successors, he had also marked out the local church as more than just a parish, providing a fine ecclesiastical counterpart to Dunbar Castle at the seat of the earldom. March's local pre-eminence was thus asserted. The

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<sup>23</sup> Easson, 'Foundation-charter of Dunbar', (Introduction) p.82, (text), pp.90, 92.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p.95.

<sup>25</sup> Barrow, 'The Medieval Diocese of St Andrews', in J. Higgitt, ed., *Art and Architecture in the Medieval Diocese of St Andrews*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions xiv, (for 1986; Leeds, 1994), p.1; cf. Cowan, I.B., 'Some Aspects of the Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* xiii (1959), p.22.

<sup>26</sup> E.P. Dennison et al., *Dunbar burgh survey*, forthcoming. (I am grateful to Dr Dennison for a copy of this.) The dedication is not mentioned in the foundation charter, but appears at e.g. CSSR i.294. For Bega's connection to Dunbar, cf. 'an ancient snatch of Northumbrian folk-rhyme' referring to 'St Bee's upon Dunbar Sands' in the context of Anglo-Saxon female religious: E. Sprott Towill, *Saints of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), p.78.



timing of the foundation may corroborate this reading, for in 1342 the earl had just been formally reconciled to King David II after some years spent under Edward Balliol in the 1330s.<sup>27</sup> There is disagreement over the degree of unease between the earl and the king in the early 1340s<sup>28</sup>; but if the earl felt to any degree that his position in the south-east required restatement, his new ecclesiastical arrangements perhaps helped him to do so in a manner which was unimpeachable (*augmentum cultus Dei...*) yet unmistakable.<sup>29</sup>

This gesture was apparently noted, inasmuch as the form of a college headed by a dean was picked up by William, first earl of Douglas, according to a petition to the Avignon pope Clement VII on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1379. Douglas asked licence to transfer the endowments of various hospitals and other foundations, 'rendered uninhabitable by wars': his plan was to build a chapel 'under the name of St Bridget ... and therein, as in a collegiate church, to have a dean and certain beneficed priests, to serve the same, and celebrate divine offices in perpetuity...'. Nothing came of this plan by the time of Douglas's death in 1384 – perhaps, as Michael Brown suggests, owing to the disruptions of war – and the earl seems to have directed his ecclesiastical interest to the rather better established concern of Melrose Abbey.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> M. Penman, 'The Scots at the Battle of Neville's Cross, 17 October 1346', *SHR* lxxx (2001), p.163. Edward Balliol, son of the erstwhile king John Balliol, made serious attempts (sponsored by Edward III) to win back Scotland and its throne; he attracted some support from Scots noblemen, though his primary backers were 'the disinherited' who had been forfeited by Robert Bruce.

<sup>28</sup> Compare *ibid.*, pp.162-4, with A.J. MacDonald, 'Kings of the Wild Frontier? The earls of Dunbar or March, c.1070-1435' in S. Boardman and A. Ross, eds, *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c.1200-1500* (Dublin, 2003), pp.139-158, at pp.146-7

<sup>29</sup> If timing is significant, an alternative link might be that the foundation served a penitential function with regard to his politically wayward years, but this seems unlikely given that pragmatism rather than sacred duty was on the whole still the order of the day for those caught between the claimants to the Scottish crown. Moreover, if the college were intended to have a politically penitential aspect, the souls of the Bruce kings would surely have been mentioned as beneficiaries, whereas the foundation only specifies earls of March and bishops of St Andrews. On the college as an expression of status, cf. Macdonald, 'Kings of the wild frontier?', p.157.

<sup>30</sup> W. Bliss, ed., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope*, (London, 1896) [henceforth CPP], i.537-8, C. Burns, ed., *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon* (Scottish History Society, 1976) [henceforth *Clement VII Letters*], p.34 (note correction to date given in CPP); M. Brown, *The Black Douglases* (East Linton, 1998), p.191.

This, and a later abortive effort at Douglas (see below), is the only evidence that Dunbar collegiate church, despite its remarkable novelty and interest, served as a direct model for later colleges in Scotland. The dean-archpriest-canon formula was to remain unique, just as Abernethy's prior-canon form does not reappear. We must look elsewhere to see the beginning of the collegiate form which would become normative in Scotland.

#### IV. Setting a precedent: Maybole, Lincluden and Bothwell

John Kennedy of Dunure and Archibald, third earl of Douglas, were responsible for three college foundations within fifteen years in the late fourteenth century: Kennedy's college in his chapel at Maybole (1384), and Douglas's colleges in the former nunnery of Lincluden (1389) and in Bothwell parish church (1398). These were all to be headed by a provost and staffed by chaplains, as their priests were called. In retrospect, this choice of terminology is revealed as highly significant, for thereafter all noble collegiate churches in Scotland had a provost, excepting only Roslin. Similarly, the priests in almost all Scottish colleges were usually referred to as chaplains, although the use of chaplain *versus* canon is at times fairly fluid (especially in papal sources). In these three colleges, then, a unified line of development seems to be visible; a model apparently establishes itself. It does not come as a particular surprise to find that two apparently remarkably influential colleges are connected with an earl of Douglas, the preeminent member of a family rapidly on its way to unrivalled prominence in the kingdom. It is perhaps more unexpected that the first of this group was founded by Kennedy of Dunure, a magnate increasingly important in his locality but by no means outstandingly so on the national stage.

Kennedy's college at Maybole indeed does not look very promising as a major leader of fashion. It was a small college, consisting of a provost, two chaplains and a clerk. Kennedy had founded the chapel of the Blessed Virgin



at Maybole by the cemetery of Maybole parish church in 1371<sup>31</sup>; it was apparently being built in the 1370s, and was fully endowed and constituted as a college in March 1384<sup>32</sup> after an indulgence and confirmation of the erection of a provostry had been gained from Clement VII in 1382.<sup>33</sup> The chapel seems to have arisen from meaningful circumstances, for, of its three chaplainries, one was in fulfilment of a debt to the late Bishop William of Glasgow<sup>34</sup>: the bishop had 'enjoined me [Kennedy] for [a certain] reason (*ex causa*) to found a perpetual chaplainry'.<sup>35</sup> This sounds like it had been enjoined as a penance; perhaps it is related to the killing of a priest 'who had slandered him to David, king of Scotland', from which a John Kennedy had been absolved by 1364.<sup>36</sup> However, the foundation of the chapel does not have a penitential tone to it, nor does it mention any souls other than those of the Kennedys (and the conventional *omnium fidelium defunctorum*). Indeed, it is made in the high style, with a fine preamble commenting on the hope of eternal reward offered to those who support prayer and works of charity (both of which, it notes, are covered by augmenting divine worship). It may well be that the subsequent collegiate foundation is quite the opposite of penitential in purpose, for at this time Kennedy was particularly conscious of his own dignity and status in secular life. Kennedy had received royal confirmation of his standing as head of his kin in 1372.<sup>37</sup> He perhaps felt that his soul was more suitably sung for by a college than by a simple collection of clerks. None of this, however, explains the appeal of this sort of collegiate form as such. The earliest known provost (Thomas Buittle, found in February

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<sup>31</sup> RMS i.378 (One of the chaplainries was founded to fulfil the instructions of the late bishop of Glasgow (Bishop William Rae, 1339-67), and a copy of the charter was to be lodged with Glasgow Cathedral (p.134b).)

<sup>32</sup> *Charters of the Abbey of Crosraguel*, 2 vols (Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological Association, 1886) i.33-4.

<sup>33</sup> *Clement VII Letters* pp.74-5.

<sup>34</sup> Bishop William Rae, 1339-67.

<sup>35</sup> RMS i.378 (p.134b).

<sup>36</sup> CPL iv.42; SP ii.446.

<sup>37</sup> RMS i.509; cf. SP ii.445. See H. MacQueen, 'Survival and success: The Kennedys of Dunure', in Boardman and Ross, eds, *Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland*, pp.67-94, at pp.82-5.

1388), who could conceivably have been a (young) chaplain of Maybole before its erection to collegiate status, was a student at Oxford in the early 1380s; perhaps he raised Kennedy's awareness of the English fashion for colleges.<sup>38</sup>

The Douglas foundations are both considerably larger than Kennedy's, and Douglas, as said, is a more immediately plausible noble trend-setter. It may be noteworthy that Lincluden and Bothwell are mentioned in Bower's *Scotichronicon* in the context of praise for Douglas's broader habit of generosity to the Church, while Maybole is apparently not interesting enough on its own account to be mentioned at all in the narrative.<sup>39</sup> Such generosity was of course part of the job description of the good nobleman; and few families were as aware as the Douglasses of the nature of this role, or as successful in demonstrating their conformity to it.<sup>40</sup> The still rather novel collegiate form perhaps therefore seemed a particularly suitable outlet for patronage, with, moreover, the advantage that the benefices thus created would remain *within* lay patronage. At Lincluden, indeed, Douglas displays very deliberate effort to impose his preference for secular collegiality. The nuns of Lincluden were expelled on the grounds of degeneracy: they reportedly spent their time dressing their incestuously-born daughters in costly garb.<sup>41</sup> The detailed description of the house's problems does not sound entirely like fabrication. It is difficult not to suspect, however, that, had Douglas's sole concern been for the purity of the religious life, he would have replaced the women with reformed nuns or male religious, rather than secular clerks.

Given Douglas's ambition, his preference for provosts may deliberately reflect the Chapel Royal in St Andrews, but Maybole is also a

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<sup>38</sup> 'Thomas de Butyl' is among twelve clerks granted a safe-conduct for study purposes on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1380. *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati*, vol. ii (London, 1819), p.20. For his further career, see D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD1410* (Oxford, 1977), pp.70-2

<sup>39</sup> *Scotichronicon* Lib. XV c.11.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Brown, *The Black Douglasses* (East Linton, 1998), c.9 *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> *Clement VII Letters* p.145 (7<sup>th</sup> May 1389).



likely influence via clerical connections. This connection is found in the person of Thomas Buittle, for Maybole's earliest known provost was far from being exclusively in Kennedy service. He offers a good example of the graduate cleric making a career for himself, chiefly at Avignon, who must indeed have been largely absent from his Maybole benefice. He had had a safe-conduct to study at Oxford in 1380; and, significantly, was also associated with the Douglasses and Lincluden in the 1380s: he held a benefice which was theoretically in Lincluden's patronage and presumably in practice under Douglas influence.<sup>42</sup> His surname also suggests that he was a Galloway man, and thus under Douglas lordship. The Buittle connection may thus explain why Lincluden and later Bothwell are superficially similar to Maybole. Unfortunately, the absence of extant foundation charters for Lincluden and Bothwell, means that the constitutional influences exerted upon and by the Douglas colleges cannot be fully assessed. The almost universal prevalence of a provost-chaplain constitution among later colleges founded by Scottish nobles is, however, striking enough in itself.

## V. Fifteenth-century noble foundations: followers of fashion

The erections of Lincluden and Bothwell did not provoke a general scramble to found colleges, but there is good reason to conclude that these Douglas foundations proved an inspiration to many later lords who wished to endow some sort of foundation. It seems clear that for a generation or two, between c.1400 and c.1450, the secular college became increasingly likely to be the form to be adopted by someone wishing to make an ecclesiastical splash. Table 1 lists the noble collegiate foundations made in fifteenth-century Scotland: there were seventeen, on a variable scale of ambition, plus five unfruitful plans. Nine of these are concentrated in the period 1441-1453.

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<sup>42</sup> Besides the provostry of Maybole, in February 1388 Buittle also held the vicarage of Lochrutton: its patronage was held by Lincluden nunnery, itself within Douglas influence and in 1388 about to be dismembered for the collegiate church. Watt, *Biographical Dictionary*, pp.70-2.

Nine of the colleges (and two unsuccessful plans) are located in Lothian, including five founded in those central thirteen years.

Table 1: Noble collegiate foundations in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Scotland  
Colleges named in brackets were authorised but never erected.

<i>COLLEGE</i>	<i>FOUNDER</i>	<i>DATE</i>
<b>Dalkeith</b>	<b>James Douglas of Dalkeith</b>	<b>1406</b>
Kilmaurs	William Cunningham of Kilmaurs	1413?x62
<b>Bothans</b>	<b>William Hay of Yester et al.</b>	<b>1421</b>
(Darnley)	John Stewart of Darnley	1422
(Douglas)	Archibald and William, e.s of Douglas	1423, 1448
Carnwath	Thomas de Somerville	1425-30?
<b>Corstorphine</b>	<b>John Forrester of Corstorphine</b>	<b>1429</b>
<b>(Linlithgow)</b>	<b>James I</b>	<b>1431</b>
Methven	Walter Stewart, e. of Atholl, Caithness and Strathearn	1433
(St Andrews)	Sir John Lindsay	1433
Kilmun	Duncan Campbell of Lochawe	1441
<b>Dunglass</b>	<b>Alexander Hume of Hume</b>	<b>1444?x49</b>
<b>Dirleton</b>	<b>Walter Haliburton of Dirleton</b>	<b>c.1444</b>
<b>Crichton</b>	<b>William Lord Crichton</b>	<b>1448</b>
<b>Roslin</b>	<b>William Sinclair, e. of Caithness and Orkney</b>	<b>1446?x54</b>
<b>(Falkirk)</b>	<b>Alexander Livingstone of Livingstone</b>	<b>1450</b>
<b>Markle</b>	<b>Hepburn of Hailes?</b>	<b>c.1450?</b>
Fowlis Easter	Andrew Lord Gray	1450-53
Hamilton	James Lord Hamilton	1451
Dumbarton	Isobel, duchess of Albany and cress of Lennox	1453
Guthrie	David Guthrie of Guthrie	1479
<b>Seton</b>	<b>George Lord Seton</b>	<b>1492</b>

Dates largely as in *MRHS* pp.213-228. (See discussions below on Corstorphine, Dirleton, Roslin and Markle.)

In short, then, whereas the secular college had been a rare and singular ecclesiastical plant in Scotland before the late fourteenth century, from this point noble cultivation of the college became increasingly intense over some three generations until it flowered profusely in the middle of the fifteenth century – and particularly in Lothian. It then dies back somewhat in the late fifteenth century, and also the sixteenth. (Royal colleges become more prominent after the mid fifteenth century (see Chapter Three), and burgh churches in the mid-sixteenth.) And – perhaps to over-extend the metaphor – the shape of the plant did not vary a great deal. This may be



illustrated by discussing the earlier Lothian colleges in further detail before returning to the trend as a whole.

### i. Dalkeith

The foundation date of the chapel of St Nicholas in Dalkeith is uncertain. It was one of three dependent chapels in the large parish of Lasswade, and that the chapel had a cemetery by 1406 may mean that it was already effectively serving as a parish church. The barony of Dalkeith, formerly held by the Mores of Abercorn, was granted to Sir William Douglas by David II in 1342.<sup>43</sup> The chapel apparently existed for at least a generation before William's nephew James inherited Dalkeith, for the foundation charter of the college founded there by Sir James in 1406 refers to 22 ½ merks from lands in Tweeddale granted by his predecessors for two chaplains there. Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith and his brother Henry Douglas of Logton endowed several more chaplainries in St Nicholas' chapel and in St John the Baptist's chapel in Dalkeith Castle. In 1369 David II confirmed the foundation of a chaplainry in St Nicholas' by Douglas of Dalkeith.<sup>44</sup> In 1373 Robert II then licensed both James and Henry to alienate rents or lands to a chaplainry in St Nicholas' – the total came to a perfectly respectable fifteen merks a year – which the foundation charter of the college reveals to have gone to a chaplainry at St Peter's altar. In 1377 James founded another chaplainry, on the lands of *Qwylt* [Coylt?] and *Fethane* in Peeblesshire. While this chaplainry was primarily endowed for St Nicholas', its incumbent seems to have been intended to be more directly a clerical servant of his patron; he was to celebrate in St Nicholas' or in the castle chapel *utcumque placuerit pro tempore meo*, and although unauthorised absences would result in loss of the benefice, business trips seem to be expected: a fortnight's absence would

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<sup>43</sup> RRS vi.42. William's daughter Mary married Reginald More. SP vi s.v. 'Morton.' See also Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, pp.35-43, on the rise of Sir William Douglas.

<sup>44</sup> RRS vi.435.

incur forfeiture 'nisi forte prefatus capellanus non habens animum se a residencia abscondi negociis suis laborauerit quo casu volo & hoc licere ad tempus modicum pro voluntate mea et heredum meorum' ('unless perhaps the said chaplain, not intending to abscond from residency, would be going about his business, in which case I wish that even this be allowed for a reasonable time, at the pleasure of myself and me heirs'). This charter was given on 1<sup>st</sup> August, i.e. Lammas (St Peter's Chains).<sup>45</sup> A chaplainry specifically for the castle chapel of St John the Baptist was then endowed in 1384. The charter is dated 5<sup>th</sup> December, which is St Nicholas' eve.<sup>46</sup> These look like deliberate choices of liturgically-significant dates for the endowment of intercession.

Over twenty years before the erection of the college, then, Dalkeith was well established as the clerical centre for Douglas of Dalkeith in terms of both intercession and business – as Alexander Grant pointed out, Dalkeith was very much at the heart of Sir James's extensive properties, with about half of Sir James' extant charters dated there.<sup>47</sup> Douglas also endowed a Maison Dieu for six paupers near Dalkeith chapel in 1396.<sup>48</sup> When Dalkeith college was erected in 1406 – years after Douglas might reasonably have expected to be dead; he had drafted testaments in 1390 and 1392 – the endowments were not new. Rather, the six existing chaplainries noted above – including that endowed for the castle chapel – became the six benefices of the college.<sup>49</sup> The establishment of a college was thus primarily a matter of form: it integrated pre-existent intercessionary provision into a single institution. The choice of institution was clearly inspired by Douglas's kinsmen the earls of Douglas.

Dalkeith college had six chaplains, one of whom was to be the provost. Each was assigned a manse near the chapel and its cemetery with

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<sup>45</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii nos 125, 151.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* ii no 176.

<sup>47</sup> A. Grant, 'The Higher Nobility in Scotland and their Estates in the early Stewart period', D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1975), pp.240-246.

<sup>48</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii no 208.

<sup>49</sup> See also summary in *MRHS* p.218.



pasturage for a horse and cow. They were to gather at the ringing of a bell to sing the Hours together, *prout moris est in ecclesiis similibus collegiatis*, and to sing a Lady Mass every day except for Sundays and feast-days (when the relevant Mass was offered). Once a week they were to say the Office of the Dead, and after the offertory of every ferial Mass the celebrant was to say the *De profundis* and a collect, and exhort the people to pray, for the souls for whose good the college had been founded (a wide collection of Douglasses, plus the kings of Scotland). One of the chaplains was also to say a Mass daily in Dalkeith Castle chapel. The presentation of all the benefices pertained to Douglas of Dalkeith and his heirs: the provost was to be presented for institution to the bishop of St Andrews, while the chaplains were to be presented to the provost, who had the right of correction of all defects in the chaplains' service.<sup>50</sup> All these arrangements were to be very typical of secular colleges in Scotland, and echoes of Dalkeith's foundation charter can be seen in several others.

## ii. Bothans

The consolidating function of collegiate foundation at Dalkeith can be contrasted with the process at Bothans, the next college founded in Lothian. Bothans parish church was in the lordship of Yester (the modern parish name), which was divided between four lords, heirs of the four daughters of Hugh Gifford of Yester: Hay of Loquhariot (modern Borthwick), Boyd of Kilmarnock, Maxwell of Tealing and Macdowell of Makarstoun. These co-lords together founded a college in Bothans church (St Cuthbert's) in 1420, confirmed by the bishop of St Andrews in 1421.<sup>51</sup> It was to have a provostry and four chaplainries: patronage of the provostry fell to each patron by turn, and each chaplainry was in the patronage of one co-founder. The provostry

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<sup>50</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii pp.313-317.

<sup>51</sup> C.C.H. Harvey and J. MacLeod, eds, *Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House* (SRS, 1930), no 55; Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland [NAS], Yester Writs, GD28/53.

and two chaplainries were funded from Bothans' parochial revenues; one of these chaplains was to serve as parish curate. The third chaplain had lands in Kirkbank and Duncanlaw. Each of these chaplains was to have a manse in Bothans kirkland. The rectory of Morham parish church was appropriated to the fourth chaplainry; the manse is not mentioned. On feast days the chaplains were to sing Masses at both the high and Lady altars; on other days, they were to sing Mass at the high altar. At every private Mass said by the chaplains, they were to begin with a *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and collects for the souls of the founders. They were obliged to sing Matins, the day Hours and Vespers on feast days, and if possible on ferial days as well. The provost had more limited canonical rights here than at Dalkeith: presentation to every chaplainry was to be made directly to the bishop of St Andrews, who had right of visitation and correction.<sup>52</sup>

The text of the foundation charter does not correspond at all closely to Dalkeith's, but the general arrangement – both constitutional and liturgical – was clearly very similar, apart from the complication of multiple patrons. However, the process and purpose of foundation were rather different.

To start with, the benefices at Bothans seem to be new institutions, although one of them, partly funded from lands in Duncanlaw, may have incorporated a foundation planned by Johanna Gifford of Yester in 1400.<sup>53</sup> However, the necessary endowments for all the chaplainries were not conveyed immediately after foundation. In 1440 Robert Boyd (the co-founder's grandson) complained in a supplication to the pope that a provostry and two chaplainries had been erected (on Bothans parish incomes), but that the church was insufficiently endowed.<sup>54</sup> There is indeed no evidence of individual chaplainry endowment in the Hay of Yester papers earlier than 1443.<sup>55</sup> More active interest revived after this point, with Blance or Our Lady's chaplainry founded by 1447, St Edmund's by 1456, St Ninian's

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<sup>52</sup> *Yester Writs* no 55; NAS, GD28/53.

<sup>53</sup> *Yester Writs* no 43.

<sup>54</sup> CSSR iv.669, 708.

<sup>55</sup> When David Hay granted a manse to the prebendary of Morham. NAS, GD28/79.



by 1470 and the Holy Rood by 1489.<sup>56</sup> These, however, all seem to be in Hay patronage, and it seems unlikely that the arrangement given in the foundation charter was ever actually in place.

The collegiate project at Bothans as described in the foundation charter was therefore not an exercise in consolidation – if rather flashy consolidation – directly comparable with Dalkeith. The charter is indeed a foundation, not a capstone. The presence of the four founders' names is probably misleading, as every other indication suggests that Bothans was primarily the concern of the Hays, who, probably through marriage to the eldest daughter of the last Gifford lord of Yester, became resident at Yester Castle and habitually used the soubriquet 'of Yester'. The Boyd supplication to Rome in 1440 indeed claims that Thomas Boyd had not been in favour of a collegiate foundation in the first place; the Boyds' ecclesiastical focus was on Kilmarnock parish church and did not shift to Bothans.<sup>57</sup> A joint liturgical investment between the four lords of Yester did make sense inasmuch as they had common ancestry in the Gifford line, and might reasonably provide together for the souls of their forebears. In terms of local and personal interest, however, Sir William Hay of Yester had most to gain from the Bothans project: it could potentially make the parish church at his seat of lordship a place of unusual distinction, like those in the patronage of men considerably more prominent than himself. Given that William Hay died in 1421, shortly after drawing up the foundation and even before it was confirmed by the bishop, he may well also have been preparing for death by endowing intercession.<sup>58</sup> Hay's choice of a prestigious mode of foundation was again likely to derive from Douglas influence: Alexander Grant's

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<sup>56</sup> NAS, GD28/85, 128, 229, 2360; *Yester Writs* no 152. Summary in *MRHS* pp.215-6.

<sup>57</sup> *SP* v.140-141.

<sup>58</sup> His widow is addressed in the bishop's confirmation, and a later retour also dates his death to 1421. NAS, GD28/54; *Yester Writs* no 58. There is more extensive discussion of Bothans' founders and foundation in my unpublished 2001 Edinburgh University MSc dissertation, 'Some noble Lothian families and their churches in the fifteenth century'.

analysis shows that he was a central member of the fourth earl's affinity.<sup>59</sup> The college at Bothans represents ambitious hopes for future development, rather than elegant incorporation of already extensive foundations.

### iii. Corstorphine

Corstorphine collegiate church in a sense falls between the situations of Dalkeith and Bothans. Unfortunately Corstorphine's foundation charter is not extant. Corstorphine's development can however be traced. The chapel or church of St Mary of Corstorphine was a dependent of St Cuthbert-under-the-Castle, and therefore belonged to Holyrood Abbey. At some point after 1376, a chapel of St John the Baptist was built in its cemetery by Sir Adam Forrester of Corstorphine.<sup>60</sup> Adam Forrester was a prominent and wealthy burgess of Edinburgh, who became still more prominent and wealthy through administrative service to David II and Robert II, rising to the position of Keeper of the Great Seal.<sup>61</sup> He died in 1403x5. His son Sir John Forrester continued in royal service under James I, becoming Chamberlain and Master of the King's Household. In 1426, James I granted £26 per annum to maintain three chaplains in the chapel of St John the Baptist, £20 from the rents and fermes of Edinburgh and £4 of annual rents held by Sir John in Edinburgh. This grant states that the chapel was Sir Adam's foundation.<sup>62</sup> In May 1429 the king then confirmed a charter in the name of both Margaret, Sir Adam's widow, and Sir John, which granted annual rents and lands to sustain two chaplains and two clerks in Corstorphine chapel.<sup>63</sup> That a college was erected in Corstorphine is clear by 26<sup>th</sup> June 1436, when John Forrester supplicated to Eugenius IV that the college foundation be confirmed and that

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<sup>59</sup> A. Grant, 'Acts of Lorship: The Records of Archibald, Fourth Earl of Douglas', in T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn, eds., *Freedom and Authority, Scotland c.1050-c.1650: Historical and Historiographical Essays presented to Grant G. Simpson* (East Linton, 2000), p.246.

<sup>60</sup> RMS i.604, RMS ii.35.

<sup>61</sup> RMS i.100, 198, 603-4, 681, 732-3, 739, 748, 803, App. ii no 1461.

<sup>62</sup> RMS ii.35.

<sup>63</sup> RMS ii.121; cf NAS, RH6/278.



Ratho parish be appropriated to it to fund a further four or five prebends. This states that a college of a provost, four priests and two choristers was in place, which clearly corresponds to the five chaplainries and two clerkships already endowed.<sup>64</sup> 1429 has traditionally been regarded as the foundation date since it is the earliest of three dates carved over the so-called 'priest's' door in the south wall.<sup>65</sup> This is probably confirmed by a note in the eighteenth-century antiquarian collections of Robert Mylne, which, in a section on religious foundations, notes the *Fundatio Eccles' collegiate de corstorplin militem ab henrico wardlaw episcopi sci andreei confirmata anno 1429*.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately Mylne does not indicate where he had seen this document, and his note does not inspire confidence inasmuch as there is clearly an omission; it should presumably read *Fundatio ecclesie collegiate de corstorplin per Johannem Forrester de corstorphine militem...* or similar. It is nonetheless very probable that such an episcopal confirmation did exist, and this note adds weight to the traditional assumption that the college proper was founded shortly after the endowment of the chaplainries confirmed by James I.

Like Douglas of Dalkeith, then, Forrester of Corstorphine built his college on the foundations of a previous generation's work and his own earlier investments, albeit investments made over a much shorter time-span than those of Sir James Douglas. Forrester may well already have had the end of collegiate foundation in sight when the three chaplainries of 1426 were established. Like Hay of Yester, however, Forrester was probably aware that an enhanced clerical establishment at the heart of his property would reflect well on him; he was, after all, only the second generation of the family to be of knightly status. Douglas influence on Forrester's ideas of how to live

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<sup>64</sup> CSSR iv.305. See also MRHS p.217.

<sup>65</sup> *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 10<sup>th</sup> Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Midlothian and West Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1929), p.21.

<sup>66</sup> Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland [NLS], Adv. MS. 34.3.12, p.11. Mylne's collections are annotated copies of Sir Lewis Stewart's earlier collections; this section seems to be one of Mylne's additions. This note is not remarked on in MRHS.

up to his nobility is again probable, for Sir John was another central member of the fourth earl's affinity.<sup>67</sup> The role of his mother Margaret, Adam's widow, should also not be underestimated. She was presumably aware of at least some responsibility for the welfare of her late husband's soul. Having been a widow for over twenty years, she was also very possibly anticipating her own death in the late 1420s, and therefore particularly ready to invest in intercession. The foundation at Corstorphine thus looks like the consolidation of an existing family project at the same time as it offered the Forresters a means of manifesting their dignity.

These collegiate foundations thus occupied different places in their founding families' histories and priorities. They did however follow the same constitutional pattern, and these particular Lothian families also all share Douglas connection. That this was a notably unified trend among Scots noblemen is worth drawing out further in several respects, particularly as they offer a marked contrast to the situation elsewhere. Firstly, the comparatively short chronological compass of the period in which Scottish noblemen founded colleges stands out. We had already noted the absence of early medieval colleges in Scotland, but that enthusiasm for the foundation of private 'chantry' colleges was largely bounded between 1384 and c.1455 is quite remarkable, particularly in comparison to England, where there was a higher number of surviving early medieval collegiate institutions and where new colleges were founded with reasonable frequency from the mid thirteenth century. On the one hand, secular colleges were indeed here to stay, as the diversity among noble, academic, royal, burghal and ecclesiastical<sup>68</sup> colleges makes clear by the time of the Reformation. On the other hand, noble college foundations follow upon each others' heels closely

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<sup>67</sup> A. Grant, 'Acts of Lordship: The Records of Archibald, Fourth Earl of Douglas', p.246.

<sup>68</sup> By this term is meant the Kirk o' Field, and Our Lady's College in Glasgow, whose founders were ecclesiastics.



enough to demonstrate the momentum of a trend, rather than simply showing a collection of individuals who happen to use the same idea.

Secondly, the significance of this chronological straitness is borne out, as we have said, by the close constitutional similarities between almost all of these noble colleges. They were all headed by provosts, except for Roslin collegiate church, which seems to have had a president or presiding prebendary.<sup>69</sup> This might have been altered, it should be said, had the fourth earl of Douglas's idea of erecting a college in Douglas parish church come to fruition. A supplication to the pope of 1423 asked permission to make such a foundation and to appropriate two parishes to it: this college was to have a dean and canons. The earl was thus quite happy to depart from the model established by his father's foundations, and was perhaps even keen to make his own mark; one wonders how the form of Scottish colleges might have developed had Douglas become a collegiate church at this point. The plan did not, however, survive Douglas's death the next year at the battle of Verneuil. It was resurrected, again unfruitfully, by the eighth earl, who supplicated for licence to erect a college in 1448. Now, however, he intended a provost to be the principal dignitary: by this time, departure from the established form thus seems to have become almost unimaginable, even for a Douglas.<sup>70</sup> The existence of a provostry, indeed, seems to have become the clearest identifying mark of a college in Scotland. This can be seen in the tenuous but apparently tenaciously-held claims to a provostry which the more dubious colleges, notably Dirleton and Markle (discussed in more detail below), seem to have maintained. In these cases there is practically no evidence of a functioning collegiate establishment, but their 'provosts' are found from time to time, suggesting an attempt to retain a minimal but

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<sup>69</sup> There is no foundation charter extant for Roslin, but see E. Williamson, 'Scottish Benefices and Clergy during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84): the evidence in the *Registra Supplicationum*', University of Glasgow PhD thesis, 1998: Vol. II: App. 3 – Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, Jan. 1470 – 12 Aug. 1484, no.432. The letters corresponding to this supplication apparently do not mention a hospital: CPL xiii.557-8

<sup>70</sup> CSSR ii.15-16, v.195.

distinctive element of collegiate character.<sup>71</sup> There are other consistent features besides the provostries. Almost all these colleges' chaplains possessed prebends (in contrast to the mode of endowment where there was an income for the college as a whole, to be distributed among the members). In almost all cases, again, each chaplain was to have a manse, rather than community life being expected.<sup>72</sup> Patronage of both provostries and individual prebends remained with the founders of the colleges (in contrast to a system where the chief dignity was elected by the members, or where the chief dignity appointed the chaplains). The patron always presented his candidate for the provostry to the ordinary for institution; in most cases he presented candidates for the chaplainries to the provost for institution.<sup>73</sup> It thus seems clear that after 1384 new colleges were being modelled on recent Scottish foundations, which as we have seen was not clearly the case in the sporadic earlier foundations. Where foundation charters are extant, it can indeed be seen that several are textually closely related. Dunglass's foundation charter (?1444<sup>74</sup>) is very close to Dalkeith's (1406), the only changes being, naturally, the specified beneficiaries and endowments, besides some extra disciplinary clauses. The charters for Crichton (1449) and the royal college of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh – which in other respects is rather different to noble foundations – closely echo the Dunglass-Dalkeith phraseology when describing the role of the provost.<sup>75</sup> It may be significant that all of these were confirmed by the bishop of St Andrews – and indeed all

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<sup>71</sup> See *MRHS* pp.281, 223, and below.

<sup>72</sup> The exceptions are Methven, which has a collective income to be distributed by the provost, and Lincluden, where the papal letter authorising its erection says that its eight priests will live 'in community.' *CPL* viii pp.460-61; *Clement VII Letters*, p.145.

<sup>73</sup> Colleges differing from the Scottish norms, and demonstrating the variety of collegiate organisation found in England, were founded in Lincoln diocese in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Statutes of the College of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', *The Archaeological Journal* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. vol. xxv (1918), pp.249-52.

<sup>74</sup> The date in the text is mistaken: it is given as 1403/4, but Kings James I and II are listed among the beneficiaries. Easson & Cowan suggest this may be a mistake for 1443/4. It was certainly founded between February 1424 and January 1448: *HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Report, Appendix Pt VIII, Manuscripts of the Duke of Athole and the Earl of Home* (London, 1891), pp.87, 114-5.

<sup>75</sup> Dunglass and Dalkeith: *HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Rep. App. Pt VIII* pp.124-5; *Midlothian Charters* pp.313-5. Crichton (1449) and Trinity College (1460): *Midlothian Charters* pp.306, 365.



are within the archdeaconry of Lothian. This brings up the question of who actually worked out the organisation of the colleges – was it initially household clerks, or clerks associated with founding families, such as Thomas Buittle in the cases of Maybole, Lincluden and Bothwell? Was there instead, or in addition, consultation with episcopal clerks – at archidiaconal or diocesan level – who would have more experience of drafting documents? However, the foundation charter for Bothans, also confirmed by the bishop of St Andrews, does not show similar textual echoes, although the organisation, for a provost and four chaplains, is of exactly the usual sort.<sup>76</sup> The absence of foundation charters for Maybole, Bothwell and Lincluden is unfortunate; we cannot properly determine the extent of their influence.<sup>77</sup>

Thirdly, there is evidence that this constitutional constituency effected perception of these colleges as a more or less unified category. This is found in a list of colleges compiled in the mid to late 1440s, during the boom in college foundation. It is within a list of Scottish religious houses, headed *Tabula monasteriorum Scocie*, found among the preliminaries to the full-text manuscripts of Abbot Bower's *Scotichronicon*.<sup>78</sup> The sections in the *Tabula* are 'abbacies', priories, then '*prefecture sive prepositure*' (prefectries or provostries), followed by nunneries, friaries, and others. Now this list is somewhat hit-and-miss in terms of strict accuracy, but it does have interesting implications. This compiler clearly considered colleges to be a distinct category of foundation by this point, whose founders had a similar claim upon posterity as did those of true religious houses, and indeed they

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<sup>76</sup> *Yester Writs* no.55 (this text, however, has some minor errors: cf MS in N.A.S., GD28/79).

<sup>77</sup> It should be noted that although Maybole's endowments and constitution are fully given in Kennedy's charter of 1384, *Crosraguel Chrs* i.33-4, this is not the foundation charter as such. It follows from the 1382 papal confirmation of the erection of the provostry, and it refers explicitly to Kennedy's (earlier) charters concerning the erection of the provostry.

<sup>78</sup> *Scotichronicon*, ed. Watt, vol ix, c.3, at pp.27-28. This *Tabula* is also found in John Law's chronicle (c.1521), Edinburgh University Library MS Dc.7.63, fo 26v. Law heads this section *Prefecture scocie*; he has not updated the list beyond adding Semple and St Salvator's, and the remark that *Plurima sic [?] collegia cum suis prefecturis denuo constructa que breuitatis gracia omitto* (Many such colleges built up anew with their prefectries, which I omit for the sake of brevity). It is perhaps significant that by the time Law was writing several royal colleges headed by deans had been founded, undermining the usefulness of *prepositura* as a label.

are given a relatively prominent position among the other categories. Furthermore, this list suggests that colleges were very nearly defined by having a provost; the 'provostry' part of the heading is presumably used by analogy with abbey and priory, which are both defined by their heads of house. *Prefectura* is a term for (among other things) the head of chapter of canons, which appears in two contemporary dictionaries as a synonym for *prepositura*.<sup>79</sup> It is perhaps given here because Abernethy and Dunbar were not actually provostries.

By the 1440s, then, to found a college in Scotland was to participate in a well-established pattern of noble ecclesiastical investment. Why, then, should the colleges founded in Scotland in this period display such uniformity?

The nobility of the trend is probably the key. Royal leadership in this sphere was, as we have seen, conspicuous by its absence in comparison to England, as are clerical founders.<sup>80</sup> As said above, it does not look particularly probable that a foundation made by Kennedy of Dunure would irrevocably mark the habits of patronage of the kingdom's nobility. That the next two colleges were founded by the third earl of Douglas seems more significant: the earls of Douglas and their kin were rapidly proving the most powerful magnate affinity in Scotland. This suspicion is borne out by the identities of several college founders after 1400. As already noted, James Douglas of Dalkeith was closely related to the earls and was particularly associated with the third earl: Earl Archibald had been named as an executor of Douglas of Dalkeith's will, although in the end he predeceased him.<sup>81</sup> As said, William Hay of Yester and John Forrester of Corstorphine were in the

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<sup>79</sup> J.F. Niermayer, ed., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.vv. *Praefectus*, *Praefectura*. *Praefectus*/*Praefectura* are defined as equivalent to *Prepositus*/*Prepositura* in Firmin le Ver's dictionary: *Firmini Verris Dictionarius: Dictionnaire Latin-Français de Firmin le Ver*, pp.391, 393. Also in Joannes Balbus, *Catholicon* (Westmead, 1971: facsimile of Mainz, 1460), s.vv. *Prepositura*, *Praefectura*.

<sup>80</sup> Cf Burgess, 'St George's College', esp. pp.85-7, 92, 95.

<sup>81</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii.170, 175.



fourth earl's 'inner circle.'<sup>82</sup> We have already seen that Dunglass collegiate church's foundation charter was closely modelled upon Dalkeith's. There had also been connections between the Humes of Dunglass and the earls of Douglas for several generations. The elder Alexander Hume had been killed at Verneuil with the fourth earl in 1424. The younger Alexander Hume went on pilgrimage to Rome in the eighth earl's party for the jubilee year of 1450, and Douglas indeed granted endowments to Dunglass.<sup>83</sup> These were, then, all men who were likely to look to the earls of Douglas for a model of aristocratic life, including the ecclesiastical patronage proper to the good nobleman. Not all college founders were part of the Douglas affinity, but Douglas influence spread beyond their direct associates. For example, the Douglas earls' importance as leaders of fashion has also been convincingly argued in the realm of funerary sculpture by Margaret Scott.<sup>84</sup>

It is also noteworthy that the four colleges mentioned here as having an immediate Douglas connection are all in Lothian. As mentioned earlier, a good half of fifteenth-century noble colleges were within the archdeaconry. This disproportionate concentration further points to the significance of political geography. The Douglas affinity was particularly strong in the south-east of the kingdom. Douglas influence in the south-east was moreover gained at the expense of the Dunbar earls of March or Dunbar, traditionally the major magnates in this region. The earl of March (the long-lived heir of Dunbar collegiate church's founder) cast himself out of the Scottish political community between 1400 and 1409, when he moved into English allegiance. He successfully made his peace with the Scottish government, but his successor was forfeited in 1435. It is, at the least, representative of the end of this ancient Lothian power – the family were descended from the eleventh-century Earl Cospatrick – that it was the 'Douglas' rather than the 'Dunbar' model of collegiate organisation which became dominant in Scotland. This is

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<sup>82</sup> A. Grant, 'Acts of Lordship: The Records of Archibald, Fourth Earl of Douglas', p.246.

<sup>83</sup> *HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Rep. App. pt VIII* pp. 77-8, 127.

<sup>84</sup> M.C. Scott, 'Dress in Scotland 1406-1460', University of London PhD thesis (1987), pp.57-60, 99-100.

not to suggest that these foundations were in any sense statements of political allegiance, but rather that they were founded with the awareness that this was a distinctly noble thing to do; and that in the early fifteenth century, the Douglasses offered the finest display of nobility. The first half of the fifteenth century was moreover a period when Scotland and particularly Lothian offered space for the growth of noble self-consciousness. James I's absence in English captivity until 1424 left the kingdom even more in the hands of the nobility than was usually the case in a minority. Lesser lords of the south-east found themselves growing in significance, first as Dunbar and Douglas vied for preeminence and then, after James returned, the king also sought to create a south-eastern loyalist affinity.

It is however in the 1440s that we see the clearest connection between noble self-awareness and participation in the fashion for collegiate foundation. Ranald Nicholson has noted the major cluster of college kirks founded during James II's minority and early in his reign.<sup>85</sup> Half of these are in Lothian, and these include the projects of the major political figures William Crichton and Alexander Livingston; the Hepburn, Hume, Haliburton and Sinclair plans of this time, besides Douglas in the west, are also the work of men of considerable political standing. It was Lothian that was the arena for the demonstrative politics of James II's minority, as Livingston and Crichton factions attacked each other's holdings. William Crichton founded his college in 1449; Lord Livingston had planned a collegiate foundation at Falkirk, but nothing came of it before the Livingstons' downfall. Both families made efficient use of the minority to advance their status considerably, and it is difficult not to see their collegiate projects, successful or otherwise, as related to this political and social ascent. As a nationally-significant power struggle was played out within a de facto

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<sup>85</sup> Nicholson, *Scotland: the Later Middle Ages*, pp.388-9. He notes Dunglass, Dirleton (in fact almost abortive), Roslin, and Crichton (within Lothian); Kilmun, Hamilton, St Salvator's and Dumbarton. One might add renewed plans for Douglas, the Livingston's supplication for a college at Falkirk, the limited Hepburn foundation at Markle, and possibly the beginnings of Fowlis Easter. See *MRHS* p.228.



local Lothian sphere, accompanying gestures were locally influenced and had a local impact: this might describe how the Livingston-Crichton rivalry fed from and into the collegiate trend among Lothian lords.

More generally, a suggestion has arisen that the fashion for collegiate churches may also be connected to the new lords of parliament who appear around the middle of the century.<sup>86</sup> A precise causal link cannot be made, for the correlation is too inexact. The significance of the connection can again be framed, however, in terms of noble self-consciousness, unfettered in a period of minority, which Alexander Grant has shown was almost certainly a major contributing factor to the appearance of a parliamentary peerage in James II's reign.<sup>87</sup> Grant also points to the earl of Douglas as a leader of this fashion. Such consciousness could quite plausibly prompt more obviously elaborate gestures in the sphere of the conventional noble obligation to patronise the Church. Indeed, the relative proximity of the Lothian foundations might very well act as one means to develop and reinforce this common sense of status.

In concentrating here upon the apparent connections between the rise of the secular college – so very notable in Lothian – and noble self-consciousness, it is not intended to discount the founders' desire for or appreciation of the liturgy which was of course any college's ongoing *raison d'être*. The significance of liturgy, and evidence for colleges' place in their founders' devotional lives, will be discussed in the next chapter. However, when considering simply the shape of the trend for such foundations, we seem indeed to be looking at a fashion – that is to say, something which is prompted by outside factors, but which also acquires its own momentum. To explain the appeal of the college as such is not necessarily to explain its fashionability in a particular place and time. In seeking to explore the latter,

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<sup>86</sup> S. Boardman and M. Lynch, 'The state of late medieval and early modern Scottish history', in *Freedom and Authority: Scotland c.1050-c.1650: Historical and Historiographical Essays presented to Grant G. Simpson*, ed. T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn (East Linton, 2000), p.51.

<sup>87</sup> 'The development of the Scottish peerage', *SHR* lvii (1978), p.14; more fully in *idem*, 'The Higher Nobility of Scotland and their Estates, c.1371-1424', University of Oxford DPhil, 1975, pp.73-5.

we have found that the prominence of secular colleges in mid fifteenth-century Lothian is explicable with regard to a combination of developments in political affinities and noble self-awareness. But this does not demonstrate why colleges as such were interesting, or what their founders actually wanted from them on a day to day basis. This will be considered in the next chapter.



## Chapter Two

### *Colleges and Noble Patrons*

Why found secular colleges? How did their patrons regard and use their foundations? The concrete trend in Scotland is concretely explicable in its particular, local context of noble self-assertion; but this clearly does not explain the appeal of colleges as such. Late medieval 'chantry' colleges in earlier historiography tended to be seen in the context of what Jacques Chiffolleau described as 'l'usage obsessionnel de la Messe pour les morts'<sup>1</sup>: the monasteries had lost their lustre as houses of holy men whose prayers were the surest hope for men in the world, while the merits of the Mass were increasingly clearly and strongly articulated. This general picture needs considerable nuance. The hope of the ascetic and apostolic life had clearly not been abandoned: the Avignon popes tried to encourage monastic reform, and the 1450s saw efforts towards Benedictine reform; the Carthusians were favoured by kings and princes of the late fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries; Observant Franciscans and Dominicans became widespread. At the same time, the development of a precise understanding that nothing could be offered to greater effect than a Mass did mean that the Mass, regardless of who was saying it, was the major object of interest: this can be illustrated in the context of religious houses by the trend of endowing chantries in monasteries, indeed chantries for secular priests within monastic churches. Secular colleges are of course not the only way to ensure the celebration of multiple Masses. In general nonetheless a greater appreciation of the objective effects of the Sacrament allowed secular colleges to be reckoned valuable aids to *salutem animarum*.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Chiffolleau, 'Sur l'usage obsessionnel de la Messe pour les morts à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du xii<sup>e</sup> au xv<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Rome, 1981), pp.235-256.

Besides this general context, founders and patrons of colleges valued and used their colleges in various respects. In this chapter, some of these will be discussed. First, however, a note on sources. As should be clear from the preceding chapter, Scotland's colleges are variably documented, and by no means all have surviving foundation charters. Their subsequent histories are also unevenly – and for the most part inadequately – documented. Family interest in Dalkeith, Bothans and Dunglass is quite well represented by family papers.<sup>2</sup> Where patronal families of the other colleges did not retain their prominent positions to the modern period, however, there are no such useful collections. On the contrary, several are particularly badly documented. The Dunbar earls of March were forfeited in 1435, and the Crichtons forfeited in 1484<sup>3</sup>; their charter collections were apparently dispersed with their property (and patronage of their colleges went to the Crown). The Crichtons in particular, a family who rose and fell within two generations, are in many respects obscure.<sup>4</sup> The Sinclairs of Roslin, although politically secure enough, were simply very unlucky with their records, suffering several fires at Roslin Castle; there are therefore few helpful documents concerning Roslin collegiate church. In what follows, the several colleges and families will therefore be rather inequitably covered. There will also probably be undue emphasis on the benefices in colleges, in the sphere of papal provision and litigation over benefices, since records of Scottish supplications to the papacy unfortunately have to stand in for diocesan records of all types.

### ***1. Inter omnes generationes: post-foundation support***

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<sup>2</sup> NAS, GD150; NAS, GD28; *HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Rep. App. Pt VIII*.

<sup>3</sup> *SP iii.65*, 277.

<sup>4</sup> Only fifteen documents issued by William Lord Crichton have survived: Alan Borthwick, 'The King, Council and Councillors in Scotland, c.1430-1460' PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1989), p.140 n.113.



As we have already seen, the effectiveness with which colleges were endowed at foundation varied.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, there is no clear pattern among founding families in the area of subsequent augmentation of colleges, whether on the founder's part or in subsequent generations. Several founders do add new benefices, as do their descendants. This can be connected to problems with the initial arrangements, as could be seen at Bothans: as discussed in the previous chapter, one of the co-founders was apparently less than fully committed from the outset, and it was only with grants from various Hays and Macdowells over the next fifty years that Bothans reached the desired size. Sir John Forrester's attempts to appropriate Ratho parish church to Corstorphine, on the other hand, simply seem to be intended to expand a college whose endowments were already fairly secure.<sup>6</sup> The Forresters did not apparently attempt to endow their college any further after obtaining Ratho's appropriation, but burials there indicate their ongoing concern.

Alexander Hume of Dunglass augmented his small college (Dunglass had only the provost and two chaplains) with a grant of lands in 1450<sup>7</sup> and in 1451 supplicated to Nicholas V for the appropriation of Dunglass's parochial revenues to the college, explaining that the rents were not wholly sufficient. Hume also asked for an indulgence for those giving alms to the college.<sup>8</sup> Grants were also made to the college by Patrick Hepburn of Hailes (1450), William earl of Douglas (1451) and James II (1452). Hume accompanied Douglas to Rome for the Jubilee of 1450; Hume and Hepburn were closely associated, as Hume's son Alexander married an Agnes Hepburn, and Hepburn's son Adam married Hume's daughter Helen by 1461.<sup>9</sup> Like James

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. E.F. Jacob, 'Founders and Foundations in the Later Middle Ages', *BIHR* xxxv (1962), esp. pp.31-3, 41-3.

<sup>6</sup> *CSSR* iv.305, 652, 699, 933.

<sup>7</sup> *HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Rep. App. Pt VIII*, p.126

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp.127-8; *CSSR* v.394. This was one of a group of supplications made by Hume, including one to dispense his fifteen-year-old son George to hold benefices, and to obtain a dispensation for his son Alexander's marriage to Agnes Hepburn (*CSSR* iv.395).

<sup>9</sup> *HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Rep. App. Pt VIII*, p.88. See also previous note.

I's grant to Corstorphine, grants to a favoured ecclesiastical project look like a form of patronage exercised by lords towards clients or kinsmen. Another grant to Dunglass was made by Alexander *Benystoun* of that ilk, of lands of Upsettlington in 1460. A further attempt to obtain ecclesiastical income was made with a supplication to appropriate Innerwick vicarage in 1468.<sup>10</sup> The several attempts at appropriation seem to have been ineffective, but the various land grants were incorporated into a refoundation of the college by the founder's son in 1481, resulting in a college of eight prebendaries and two choir-boys.<sup>11</sup>

Dalkeith was also augmented and reorganised by its patrons. In 1467 it was allowed parochial status.<sup>12</sup> In 1475, the first earl of Morton successfully supplicated for the appropriation of Newlands, Kilbucho and Mordington parish churches. This allowed the foundation of five new prebends, three of which were also to sustain clerkships for choirboys, bringing the college to a total of a provost, ten prebendaries and three clerks or boys.<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, Morton changed terminology at this point, now referring to 'canons' rather than 'chaplains.' As mentioned above, more elaborate liturgical requirements were also made, making full use of the larger choir with more sung, corporate liturgy. Every day, Matins was to be sung then Prime said; a Lady Mass sung around eight and the High Mass sung around ten, except on Mondays when a Requiem Mass should replace it (feasts might alter these arrangements); at the end of the High Mass they should go to the founders' tomb and say the *De profundis* with collects; Vespers and Compline should be sung together, and after Compline an antiphon of the Blessed Virgin should be sung. Morton clearly retained a lively interest in supporting and enhancing the dignity of his ancestor's foundation.

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<sup>10</sup> CSSR v.1301.

<sup>11</sup> NAS, RH6/496.

<sup>12</sup> Cowan, *Parishes*, p.44.

<sup>13</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii no 230. Douglas of Dalkeith was elevated to comital rank as first earl of Morton in 1458.



The college at Seton, in the later part of the century, was most markedly the fruit of successive generations' sustained effort, as shown in studies by Stewart Cruden and John Durkan. A south aisle was added to Seton parish church by Catherine Sinclair, John Seton's widow, after Seton's death in 1434. George third Lord Seton obtained permission from Paul II in 1470 to erect the church into a collegiate church of a provost, six canons, two boys and a clerk. The building of a fine new choir and nave were begun, but a college was not erected in this lord's lifetime, and according to the sixteenth-century family historian he was buried at the Edinburgh Blackfriars. His heir, another George Lord Seton, revived the plan (apparently on the death of the church's rector) and petitioned Alexander VI to mandate execution of the plan, which the pope did on 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1492. Work continued on the choir and sacristy under this lord, and after his death in 1508 his son finished roofing, glazing and furnishing the choir. He was killed at Flodden, and his widow, Janet Hepburn, who died in 1558, built new transepts (replacing the earlier south aisle) and began the spire. Lady Janet was probably responsible for demolishing whatever remained of the older parish church building.<sup>14</sup> On the one hand, then, this was a multi-generational project; on the other, no *pietas* was shown towards earlier generations as such if the new foundation could be improved by replacing older family monuments.

It was thus often necessary for successive generations of founding families to continue putting in effort and resources in order to ensure the stability of their colleges, while other families prosecuted programmes of ongoing augmentation. The converse of such efforts can be seen in the cases of Dirleton and Markle, two chapels where provostries were founded although collegiate establishments were never put in place. These two colleges, however slender their claim to that title, are worth considering

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<sup>14</sup> Stewart Cruden, 'Seton Collegiate Church', *PSAS* lxxxix (1955-6), pp.417-425. CSSR v.1438. NLS, Adv. MS 15.1.19, no 15 (Alexander VI's mandatory letters). John Durkan, 'The Foundation of Seton Collegiate Church', *IR* xiii (1962), pp.71-6.



because they demonstrate the tenacity with which a claim to a provostry was maintained once it had been established.

Dirleton is within Gullane parish, which was appropriated to Dryburgh Abbey, and was the site of two chapels, that of St Andrew and that of All Saints. The former existed by the episcopacy of Bishop William Malvoisin of St Andrews (1202-38), when William Vaus was permitted to maintain a chaplain there at his (and his heirs') expense; at some point an arrangement was made for the chapel of St Andrew to be served by a Trinitarian friar; this had fallen into some degree of neglect by 1507.<sup>15</sup> The chapel of All Saints was founded by John Vaus (William's heir?) at the time of Bishop David Bernham (1239-53), and was home to a chantry (*cantaria*) by permission of the abbot and monks. (It is a point of interest that this characteristically English term was used here rather than the more usual Scots *cappellania*, although what to take from this is not immediately obvious.)<sup>16</sup> The Haliburtons acquired Dirleton from the Vaus family by marriage in the mid fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> It was presumably the chapel of All Saints which was to be the home of a provostry 'constituted' in 1444, according to the *Scotichronicon* MS lists: 'but nothing was done about the plan' (*sed nihil factum ad propositum*). The fluctuating fortunes of the unelaborated *propositum* are, however, in themselves of interest; for, although nothing was done about it, it seems likely that by 'constituting' a provost the list means the official creation of a benefice called the provostry. This would require the permission and confirmation of Dryburgh and probably the bishop of St Andrews – the lack of evidence for this is almost certainly due only to the very slender records to survive from both, although one might have wondered if Dryburgh, as patron of the parish, caused difficulties in fleshing out the foundation; the Livingstons were unable to found their

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<sup>15</sup> *Dryb. Lib.* no.29, RSS i no.1470

<sup>16</sup> *Dryb. Lib.* nos.31-2.

<sup>17</sup> *SP* iv.332.



proposed college at Falkirk, and the Lindsays theirs at St Andrews, owing to patronage issues with religious houses.<sup>18</sup>

D.E.R. Watt has indeed found a number of provosts of Dirleton.<sup>19</sup> The first reference to a provost was noted by J.G. Wallace-James from a charter which no longer seems to be extant: the appearance of *Dom[inus] Johanne de Burgon preposito ecc[lesie] mee collegiate de Dirleton*, presumably as a witness, on 6 May 1444 to a charter of Walter 'de Halyburton' [of Dirleton].<sup>20</sup> Given the fullness of the designation, this does not look like a mis-transcription, and the phrase rings of pride in the possession of a provost and a collegiate church shortly after it had been 'constituted'. However, the same man reappears – witness to a charter by Walter's heir John – as *chaplain* of Dirleton in December 1449.<sup>21</sup> Yet a provost (James Bracale) is found again in 1464, witnessing a charter of John's son George, according to General Hutton's transcription.<sup>22</sup> The next provost appears in 1509, but he bears the same name (John Robison) as a mere 'chaplain' who may have been associated with Dirleton in 1478.<sup>23</sup> The final pre-Reformation provost (Robert Pringle) is found in 1520.<sup>24</sup> These last two appearances, it is worth noting, show that the provostry did have some sort of endowment, despite the *Scotichronicon* MS's *nihil*. In November 1509, Mr Andrew Haliburton, representing Sir John Robison, provost of Dirleton, appeared before the Lords of Council to say that Sir Alexander Robison had summonsed the former to produce royal letters proving possession of three husbandlands in Elbottle (near Dirleton), but had not compeared to pursue the case. By early 1520, this dispute seems

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<sup>18</sup> MRHS p.228

<sup>19</sup> Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, p.352.

<sup>20</sup> NAS, Wallace-James note books, GD1/413/10, pt i, p.201.

<sup>21</sup> RMS ii.339.

<sup>22</sup> NLS, Hutton Collections (late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century), Adv. MS 29.4.2 (v), fos 149r-151v.

<sup>23</sup> NAS, Acta Dominorum Concilii, CS5, vol.xxi, fo.19r. Sir John Robison is one of two 'chaplains' who witness a charter of George, Lord Haliburton, in April 1478 (*Calendar of Laing Charters*, no.172.). It is noteworthy that the four lay witnesses are explicitly associated with the granter (as his uncle and servants), so it seems likely that at least one of the chaplains was as well. However, a chaplain of this name also witnesses a grant and transfer of sasine – with no clear Dirleton connections – by Oliver Sinclair of Roslin in 1490: NAS, Clerk of Penicuik, GD18/203, 205.

<sup>24</sup> NAS, Liber Sententiarum Officialis S. Andree infra Laudoniam, CH5/3/1, fo.74v.

to have resurfaced, but had now been taken to the ecclesiastical courts: Mr Andrew, now representing Mr Robert Pringle, provost of Dirleton, had apparently brought a suit against the same Sir Alexander, and the Official of Lothian sentenced Alexander to pay to Mr Andrew 28 bolls each of wheat and barley, and to cover the expenses of the case. Given the change of person, the matter must concern the provost *ex officio* – one might indeed wonder if the use of the title on these occasions was precisely to stress that officialdom, in the knowledge that provosts tended to carry some weight. These husbandlands were thus presumably part of the chapel's or the provostry's possessions. Nothing further, however, is currently known of its endowment.

The Haliburtons, then, were clearly not willing to forget that they had the right to a provostry, even one which was probably essentially a single chaplainry.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, very late in the day, in 1561, the title is once apparently associated with the castle chapel. This may in fact mean All Saints' chapel, for this reference is to a 'chapel of the castle of Dirleton, situated near the castle of the same',<sup>26</sup> whereas there was in fact a true castle chapel within the castle building<sup>27</sup>; but it makes clear the close connection to the secular lordship. The perceived desirability of a provostry thus seems apparent, even when it rested on minimal foundations.

The case of Markle, although considerably more doubtful, makes a similar impression. Markle, in Linton parish, was held by the Hepburns of Hailes from the earls of March by 1363, and was later part of the barony of Hailes (the first grant does not mention a chapel or chaplainry, but there is no reason to expect this previous to the late fifteenth and sixteenth century's habitual prolixity).<sup>28</sup> There were (in 1914) allegedly charters mentioning a

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<sup>25</sup> But cf. MRHS p.218 for a post-Reformation hint that there was more than one.

<sup>26</sup> MRHS p.218.

<sup>27</sup> *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland Eighth Report with inventory of monuments and constructions in the county of East Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1924), no.27. There are not apparently any remains of either St Andrew's or All Saints' chapel.

<sup>28</sup> RRS vi.297; RMS ii.3635



provostry here, 'c.1450'.<sup>29</sup> Only a chapel (of St Mary) is known for the rest of the fifteenth century and beyond<sup>30</sup>; but this did have an endowment of some sort. A 6s 8d annual rent was due to the chapel in 1448 from a cotland in *Benyston* in North Hailes.<sup>31</sup> There is no indication that this was a new obligation (the context is a regrant of lands held heritably by the recipient), and it may be of quite long standing. A provost is then found in 1515: Sir George Scougall, 'provost of Merkle', witnesses a public instrument drawn up at Hailes Castle in July 1515.<sup>32</sup> The apparent appearance of a provost in 1515 suggests that we might have a situation something like that at Dirleton: a provostry with official but little material existence, the title being used largely for effect.

## II. Worship and devotion in colleges and beyond

### i. *In augmentum Dei cultus*

The objective good of supporting worthy liturgy was invoked in formulaic preambles to documents of donation. The formula often used in beginning episcopal confirmations, for example, states that God follows the pious vows of the faithful with favour when their humility and feeling are known by fervour for the increase of divine worship ('Splendor eterne glorie qui sua mundum illuminat ineffabili claritate pia vota fidelium de sue maiestatis clemencia tum benigno favore prosequitur cum devota ipsorum humilitas et sincerus affectus in divini cultus augmentum fervore

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<sup>29</sup> MRHS p.223; Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications*, ii.499-500.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*; RMS ii.3635 (1511).

<sup>31</sup> Edinburgh University Library, Laing Charters, 1992 Box 51 (*Calendar* no.126. NB the calendar entry incorrectly gives the rent as six marks).

<sup>32</sup> *The Lag Charters 1400-1720: Sir Philip J. Hamilton-Grierson's Calendar*, ed. A.L. Murray (SRS, 1958), p.21. Unfortunately, these charters have been lost, so the reference cannot be checked further (*ibid.* p.3).

dinoscuntur...').<sup>33</sup> That such statements were formulaic, and that any given founder may not have been the paragon of fervour and piety rhetorically claimed, should not be allowed to mask their import: good liturgy offered honour to God, and this is truly the duty of a Christian people. This fact points to what was almost certainly one of the most important elements of collegiate foundations, which is yet almost invisible and easily neglected: the music which they could provide. That a college allowed not only a multiplication of Masses, but a corporate sung liturgy, was possibly its single most important distinguishing feature when compared to any other church containing multiple chaplainries. The requirements for sung Hours and Masses, at least on Sundays and feast-days, in the individual foundations described above have already been indicated. This is indeed the rule where foundation charters survive. We can also note the requirement that any priest instituted in Crichton college should be 'sufficient in reading, construing and plain-sont *descant* and *priket not*, and the boys at least sufficiently taught in reading, plain-song, *descant* and *priket not*.'<sup>34</sup> When Dalkeith was augmented in 1475, its new statutes included more detailed liturgical requirements (described below). Interestingly these include the singing of a Marian antiphon after Compline, 'according to the custom of other collegiate churches', a practice which provided the context for such great developments in English polyphony; and musical preoccupations are also illustrated by the stipulation that choirboys were to lose their positions when their voices broke.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> E.g. *Midl. Chrs* p.305, confirmation of foundation of Crichton college, 1449. See also formulae of the same sort use in document from the Curia, e.g. Sixtus IV's letter anent Dalkeith's augmentation in 1475: 'Decorem domus dei quam decet sanctitudo et venustatem ecclesiarum quarumlibet presertim insignium collegiatarum ac divini cultus augmentum intensius desiderijs affectans votis illis gratum pr'amus assensum per que deuocio fidelium erga illas adaugeri et ecclesie ipse ad laudem illius qui habitat in excelsis divinis preconiiis valeant iugiter resonare...'

<sup>34</sup> *Midl. Chrs* p.310. There was a very similar phrase in Trinity College's foundation: 'nullus prebendarius instituatur nisi sufficiens fuerit legendo [et] concinendo plano cantu et discantu. Pueri vero dociles ad premissa existant.' Matins, Vespers, and Compline were to be sung every day there. *Ibid.* p.68.

<sup>35</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii no 230.



Very little more can be said about the music in Scottish collegiate churches before the Chapel Royal founded at Stirling in 1501, which surpassed them all in musical resources; the now famous music of Robert Carver shows what was possible. The music of the smaller colleges is indeed a case where the words uttered out loud have flown, and those written are pinned down and voiceless. Something of the importance of sung corporate liturgy can nonetheless be seen in an unusual case in Renfrew in 1477, when Canon Nicholas Ross of Glasgow supplicated to Rome concerning Renfrew parish church. In this church, he said, there were five chaplainries whose chaplains sing the Hours and Masses 'as is done in cathedrals and collegiate churches of the said realm.' He supplicated that the pope formally bind the chaplains to sing the hours, such that they may be punished for lapses, and that Ross be allowed to found as many more chaplainries as could be supported.<sup>36</sup> This all sounds very much like groundwork for a collegiate foundation, but, if that was so, nothing further happened. In any case, it is telling that Ross's priority was to ensure the performance of liturgy. He was a clergyman himself, and possibly therefore had a more active interest in the subject. Nevertheless this supplication seems to point to the prominence of good corporate liturgy in the perception of a college's functions. This was surely a consideration which weighed more heavily with founders than the available evidence can suggest.

## ii. *Pro salute animarum*

It is for the most part impossible to know how patronage of a college intersected with devotional habits on the part of patrons. Such indications as there are do not suggest any particular departure from what might be done by any lordly family with a church in its control. Perhaps the most prominent use of collegiate churches is as family burial places. Material damage to these churches in the Reformation and the unsettled seventeenth

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<sup>36</sup> Williamson, 'Calendar', no 477.

century was limited compared to that suffered by many parish churches, but still sufficient to remove monuments and inscriptions. The extent of burial in these churches is therefore not precisely known. However, effigies survive at Corstorphine, Dalkeith, and Seton. Earl William Sinclair's intention to be buried at Roslin is documented.<sup>37</sup> Earl George (I) Dunbar was buried at Dunbar, for his epitaph is recorded in a chronicle manuscript.<sup>38</sup> There is clearly no need for a church to be collegiate for it to fulfill such a function. Effigies also survive in Lothian in Borthwick and Lasswade parish churches, and we can presume that a considerable quantity of funerary sculpture has been destroyed.<sup>39</sup> However, it does seem that within Lothian the majority of (extra-urban) churches which underwent major rebuilding and ornamentation in the fifteenth century were collegiate.<sup>40</sup> These were thus the most impressive family mausolea in the locality, in architectural terms and in terms of the liturgies directed towards the welfare of the patronal families.

The extent to which colleges featured in the devotions of the living is another matter. There is no particularly strong reason to expect them to; their liturgical *raison d'être* was after all directed towards God on behalf of souls, and whether or not anyone else happened to be paying attention was neither here nor there. Occasionally it can be seen that a college or its personnel was contingently, as it were, associated with provision for the patronal families' daily lives. As already seen, service of Dalkeith Castle chapel was, unusually, made an extra-mural activity of the Dalkeith college chaplains; the family was perhaps more likely to hear Mass in their domestic chapel. (Other college patrons presumably also had domestic chapels, if by no means all are

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<sup>37</sup> *Bannatyne Miscellany* vol. iii, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1855), p.96.

<sup>38</sup> *Scotichronicon*, ed. Watt, vol viii p.201.

<sup>39</sup> Margaret Scott's thesis 'Dress in Scotland 1406-1460' includes a catalogue of surviving east-coast funerary effigies.

<sup>40</sup> *RCAHMS East Lothian*, *passim*, esp. pp.75-8, 115-120, 143-4, figs.27-9, Whitekirk is an exception, pp.125-8.; *RCAHMS Mid and West Lothian*, *passim*, esp. pp.20, 44-5, 59-61, 102-Duddingston is an exception as a rather fine minor parish church (though its structure is largely 12<sup>th</sup> century), pp.66-7, and Stow may have been rebuilt in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, p.168; note also the mid-16<sup>th</sup>-century choir at Midcalder, p.136.



documented. Yester Castle certainly had a chapel.<sup>41</sup>) A dean of Dunbar was once described as confessor to the earl of March and his son.<sup>42</sup>

There is however no reason to assume that the devotional lives – whatever these may have entailed – of college patrons were in fact focussed on their colleges. The families who founded colleges certainly did not direct their pious giving solely towards their own foundations. The other objects of their attention illustrate the variety of their family traditions. The earls of March, possibly the oldest of Scotland's noble families, had a very long-standing relationship with Durham and its cell of Coldingham, which they continued to value. George (I) wrote of his high regard for a triple chantry the family had at Coldingham or Durham,<sup>43</sup> and had a letter of confraternity from Durham.<sup>44</sup> Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith had granted the Carmelites land for a friary in Linlithgow in 1401, although there is little evidence of further involvement with them.<sup>45</sup> At the time of the drafting of his testament in 1390 and 1392, Douglas was planning to be buried in Newbattle Abbey beside his wife; he also made bequests to Newlands and Lasswade parish churches, St Duthac's shrine at Tain, and St Fillan's priory: it is a fairly unsurprising range of interests for a rich man with more than enough money to distribute, encompassing local parishes, the local religious house (with which his family had a history), and nationally-regarded saints' shrines.<sup>46</sup> Later in the century, his descendant the first earl of Morton endowed the house of Franciscan sisters of penitence at St Martha's hospital of Aberdour (Fife) in 1486.<sup>47</sup> Adam Forrester and his son John gave gifts to Aberdeen Cathedral and had anniversaries there, an involvement which seems to have arisen from Adam Forrester's administrative dealings with Bishop Gilbert

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<sup>41</sup> *Yester Writs* no 211.

<sup>42</sup> *Benedict XIII Letters* pp.384-5.

<sup>43</sup> As he explains, rather testily, to the Countess of Westmoreland in a letter of c.1417. *The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls and Law Proceedings of the Priory of Coldingham* (Surtees Society, 1841) pp.89-90.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* p.90 (Feb. 1418).

<sup>45</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii nos 210, 211.

<sup>46</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii nos 193, 196.

<sup>47</sup> NAS, GD150/208.

Greenlaw in Robert III's service.<sup>48</sup> Sir Adam also founded a chaplainry at St Ninian's altar in St Giles', Edinburgh – later augmented by Sir John – which is unsurprising given Forrester's Edinburgh origins.<sup>49</sup> William Lord Crichton founded a chaplainry at the Lady altar of St Anthony's preceptory, Leith, shortly before founding his college. He and his wife were enrolled in the preceptory's confraternity, one of its relatively few noble members. This also has some connection to Edinburgh interests: Crichton was the sheriff of Edinburgh from the early 1430s until his death and keeper of Edinburgh Castle from 1434-1452, and it is interesting that his grant to St Anthony's was copied into the St Giles' register.<sup>50</sup> The Hays of Yester had some sort of interest in two chapels: that of Kingilduris by 1395 (served by the monks of Melrose) and of Wester Haprew by 1433 (served by the vicar of Stobo), although it is not entirely clear what the Hays' rights and responsibilities were.<sup>51</sup>

While the colleges themselves were very similar, then, a wider view of founding families' pious giving demonstrates further that collegiate foundation took place in different contexts.

### III. Patrons, clerks and benefices

The more visible uses of colleges are not devotional as such, but rather concern the clergy holding benefices therein. These are usefully documented in Scottish supplications to the pope, although this represents only the sort of clerics who sought papal provision or who litigated over benefices: usually, that is, graduate career clerics. Several such careerists can be found holding prebends in colleges. It seems that patrons were willing to support such

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<sup>48</sup> *Aberdeen Reg.* vol. i pp. 142-3, 171-3, 199-201, vol. ii pp. 18-19, 144, 151, 167-8.

<sup>49</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no 28, App. I.1.

<sup>50</sup> *St Giles Lib.* no 61. St Anthony's preceptory obit book and rental, NLS Adv. MS. 34.5.5., fo 4v. Borthwick, 'King, Council and Councillors', pp. 127, 138-9, 498, 506.

<sup>51</sup> *Yester Writs* nos 38, 60; NAS, GD28/60, 126.



clerks: in some cases they were family members, in others they were clerical associates whose positions at the royal court or the Curia were helpful to their patrons. Given that almost all benefices in collegiate churches were firmly in the patronage of their founding families, it does not seem that patrons were perturbed by non-residence. Indeed, Dunglass's foundation charter oddly includes an explicit statement that the prebends are *beneficia simplicia* which can be held alongside benefices with cure. The value of the resource in the patron's hands is suggested by the effort to which Hume of Dunglass went in 1476 to ensure that he retained control over Dunglass's provostry: the archbishop of St Andrews refused to institute John Edwardson, Hume's candidate for the provostry, so Hume supplicated to Rome for permission to present his candidate to any bishop he chose.<sup>52</sup>

The structure of clerical careers in Scotland is an area which remains too little studied, despite a number of works among which Watt's *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD1410* is outstanding and indispensable.<sup>53</sup> A number of dignitaries in collegiate churches found their way into royal service. The most prominent examples are not in Lothian but in the early Douglas colleges of Bothwell and Lincluden. John Cameron, provost of Lincluden, served as secretary to the earl of Wigtown then to James I; he became keeper of the Privy Seal, and ended up as bishop of Glasgow and Chancellor.<sup>54</sup> William Foulis, provost of Bothwell, was secretary to the earl of Douglas and then also to James I; he became keeper of the Great Seal and archdeacon of St Andrews.<sup>55</sup> Douglas service could be the route to high places.<sup>56</sup> The Lothian colleges did not provide launching pads for such high-flying careers, but several provosts and prebendaries did forge

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<sup>52</sup> Williamson, 'Calendar', nos 230, 359, 379.

<sup>53</sup> Notable contributions include D.E.R. Watt, 'University Graduates in Scottish benefices before 1410', *RSCHS* xv (1963); Watt, *Biographical Dictionary*; Duncan Shaw, 'The ecclesiastical members of the Lauder family in the fifteenth century', *RSCHS* xi (1955); Eila Williamson, 'Alexander Rait, Familiar of the Pope, d.1479', *IR* lii (2001); Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, Ch. 9.

<sup>54</sup> Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, pp.192, 474; *RMS* ii.13,14, 25, 2477.

<sup>55</sup> Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, pp.396, 448; *RMS* ii.60, 68, 93, 201-2.

<sup>56</sup> Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, pp.193-6.

royal connections. Dunbar was affected by a decade when the earl of Douglas had patronage, in 1400-1409 while the earl of March temporarily shifted to English allegiance: this presumably accounts for the two successive provosts of Douglas's collegiate church of Lincluden – Alexander Cairns and the highly successful John Cameron – who also held prebends of Dunbar.<sup>57</sup> Two more royal servants are among Dunbar's prebends – Thomas Lauder, found as canon of Pitcox in 1432-3, and Thomas Merton, canon of Spott by mid-1426 and until ?1432, both of whom must have been essentially non-resident.<sup>58</sup> Corstorphine's first provost, Mr Nicholas Bannatyne, is described as a 'familiar of James king of Scots' in 1454.<sup>59</sup> Mr Fergus MacDowell, provost of Bothans c.1466-1470, was clerk of the rolls and an ambassador to the pope for James III.<sup>60</sup> Mr Alexander Gifford, provost of Dalkeith c.1463-1477, was apparently favoured by James III as he then acquired the deanery of Dunbar, in crown patronage since the Dunbars' forfeiture.<sup>61</sup> Both MacDowell and Gifford had presumably been given their provostries through family ties: MacDowell presumably being related to the MacDowells of Makarstoun, and Gifford to the Giffords of Sheriffhall, who exercised patronage of Dalkeith and ward of Douglas of Dalkeith lands after James Douglas was declared incapable in 1441.<sup>62</sup>

Other career clerics held prebends in Lothian colleges, usually alongside other benefices. Two early canons of Dunbar offer typical examples of successful graduates. The first known canon appears eleven years after the foundation, well within the lifetime of the founder.<sup>63</sup> Thomas

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<sup>57</sup> Cairns is known 1411-4, and Cameron found in 1425: *Ben. XIII Letters* p.247, CSSR, ii.56, 93-4.

<sup>58</sup> Merton: CSSR ii.137, iii.95, 256-7, and Watt, *Graduates*, pp.394-8. Lauder: CPL viii.407-8, CSSR iii.233-5, iv.78. Possibly a canon as early as 1414/15: Watt, *Graduates*, p.331 n..

<sup>59</sup> CSSR v.535; Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, p.452.

<sup>60</sup> CSSR v.1096; Williamson, 'Scottish benefices and clergy during the pontificate of Sixtus IV', p.120; RMS ii.892, 760-762, 765.

<sup>61</sup> Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, pp.457, 460.

<sup>62</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii no 219.

<sup>63</sup> Earl Patrick (V) Dunbar was earl of March 1308-68.



Harkars was canon of Dunbar by December 1353<sup>64</sup> and probably so until his death in 1369-70, in which period he supplicated enthusiastically for benefices and always held at least two. A scholar of canon law at Paris, he had a generally successful career (characteristic of its time) centred around the Curia at Avignon, ending his life in the service of an Italian cardinal.<sup>65</sup> It is unlikely, to say the least, that Earl Patrick was under any illusion that a (probably well-connected<sup>66</sup>) student of one of the 'lucrative sciences' had any intention of residing in Dunbar on the profits of an East Lothian village. It is thus not reasonable to imply, as Easson did, that Harkars' pluralism represents a rapid decline in conditions which was in any way unsatisfactory to the interested parties. On the contrary, it was probably potentially useful to the earl to have a contact in Curial circles; and therefore it seems that the college's prebends might almost from the outset be used as the currency of patronage. A similar figure to Harkars' is cut by Thomas de Barry, found as a canon of Dunbar in 1378; later in Douglas service, in the 1370s and '80s he was in the service of Bishop Wardlaw of St Andrews and seems to have spent much of his time at Avignon.<sup>67</sup> Canon Patrick Hepburn was another graduate, a Paris MA, but he is not known to have studied further or to have held other benefices; he did, however, have a safe-conduct to go to Oxford in 1364, by which time he had his prebend (of Linton). It is likely that he acquired his canonry through family connections – the Hepburn lands of Hailes being in Linton parish – on the understanding that it could fund his studies. He appears as a witness at Dunbar in 1369.<sup>68</sup>

Other pluralist and non-resident prebendaries can easily be found. Andrew Umfray, the archdean of Aberdeen, also held a Dunbar canonry by January 1371.<sup>69</sup> Columba Dunbar, son of the earl of March, was dean of

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<sup>64</sup> CPP i.255.

<sup>65</sup> D.E.R. Watt, *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD1410*, pp.255-6.

<sup>66</sup> He claimed French and Scots royal backing to two of his petitions to the pope: CPP i.255.

<sup>67</sup> Watt, *Graduates*, pp.31-2.

<sup>68</sup> Watt, *Graduates*, pp.265-6. *HMC 15<sup>th</sup> Report, App. pt VIII, Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensferry* (London, 1897) p.32.

<sup>69</sup> Watt, *Graduates*, pp.557-8.

Dunbar c.1412-1422, held at least one other benefice from 1415, and for a short time even held two prebendaries within Dunbar simultaneously.<sup>70</sup> A Bothans chaplain held two benefices, and two others appear supplicating in person at the Curia.<sup>71</sup> Two chaplains of Corstorphine were dispensed from residence.<sup>72</sup> At least three Dalkeith chaplains were pluralists.<sup>73</sup> There is no particular reason to assume that patrons would object to this if vicars choral were maintained in the colleges, particularly not in the cases where family members were being supported.<sup>74</sup> The relationships between patrons and the beneficiaries of patronage are unfortunately difficult to pin down more clearly.

These relations were not always good. A series of incidents at Dunbar illustrates a serious failure of the relationship between patron and college, although exactly what the problem was is frustratingly obscure. Robert Young, archpriest in 1419 and dean by 1424, was a kinsman of the earl of Douglas (who sponsored his supplication for dispensation to hold two benefices), which suggests that his position at Dunbar should be traced to the decade of Douglas patronage.<sup>75</sup> However, his continued presence and promotion at Dunbar suggests that this did not initially trouble the earl of March after his return. As mentioned earlier, he was even described as

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<sup>70</sup> Columba was dean in Feb. 1412 (Watt and Murray, *Fasti* p.354, but cf *Ben. XIII Letters* p.278 n.1); he was seeking another benefice in 1415 (CPP i.602) and was dispensed to hold another incompatible benefice (Loquhariot) in 1419 (CSSR i.36-7), and also became archdeacon of Lothian (CSSR i.47). For 6 months he held 2 canonries of Dunbar (CSSR i.130). Columba's career was mixed up with family politics and relations with the Douglasses: in 1420, Archibald earl of Douglas (supplicating on behalf of George Borthwick) backed litigation against Columba and accused his parents of violence against the executor carrying papal letters concerning a rival claim to the archdeaconry of Lothian (CSSR i.224-5). By 5<sup>th</sup> April 1422 Columba was bishop-elect of Moray, dispensed to hold the bishopric for a year with the Dunbar deanery (CSSR i.293-4).

<sup>71</sup> CSSR iv.1183, v.1432; Reg. Supp. 871, 265v.

<sup>72</sup> CSSR v.344; Reg. Supp. 855, 172r-v.

<sup>73</sup> CPP i.636; *Benedict XIII Letters* pp.154, 234-5; CPL xiii.645; Williamson, 'Calendar', no.301.

<sup>74</sup> The foundation of the Chapel Royal at Stirling in 1501 refers to the Dunbar prebendaries' employing substitutes (by this time Dunbar had been in royal patronage for nearly seventy years): *illius canonici pro maiori parte non per se, sed prout in multis aliis collegiatis ecclesiis regni Scocie iuxta consuetudinem hactenus obseruatam fieri consueuerint per substitutos deseruiant. History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland, with the Register of the Chapel Royal of Scotland*, ed. C. Rogers (Grampian Club, 1882), no 1.

<sup>75</sup> CPP i.612, Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, p.354, CSSR i.140-1.



March's and his son's confessor (January 1419). He is also, oddly, once designated March's eldest son; this is presumably an error, but perhaps it is an error for some other degree of kinship.<sup>76</sup> Despite Young's close relationship with the family, however, it appears that Young became unable to exercise his decanal authority. Our copy of Dunbar's foundation charter is from a confirmation by Bishop Wardlaw of St Andrews in 1429.<sup>77</sup> It seems to have been Young who took the initiative in getting this confirmation: the original letters of erection were shown to Bishop Wardlaw *by Robert Young in the presence of* George earl of March, then Robert supplicated for their confirmation *with the full consent and assent* of the earl.<sup>78</sup> Then in April 1433, while at the Curia, he made a curious supplication to the pope asking for confirmation of his authority and disciplinary powers.<sup>79</sup> Whatever the trouble was that required this reassertion of constituted authority, Young seems to have lost the earl's support, for the next month he supplicated with the complaint that March had 'put violent hands' upon him within Dunbar church, and threatened to deprive him of the deanery.<sup>80</sup> The reasons for these outbreaks of disorder and violence are, unfortunately, quite opaque. Young's efforts may imply that absenteeism – the main offence treated in the foundation charter – was at an uncontrollable level; but without knowing whether this is on the part of canons themselves or their vicars, one can make little of it. His supplication of April may also suggest that the collection and distribution of ecclesiastical revenues, to support resident canons and material expenses, had in some way broken down. At best, we can perhaps conclude that this earl had not been taking a particularly close interest in his college. Despite, then, the patron's theoretically tight hold on his college, the relationship could sometimes break down entirely.

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<sup>76</sup> *Benedict XIII Letters* p.384-5; *CPP* i.612.

<sup>77</sup> It survives in a copy made by the antiquarian Sir Lewis Stewart in the seventeenth century. It is unfortunate that Stewart does not indicate where he found the text. NLS, Adv. MS 22.1.14, fos. 202r-204r.

<sup>78</sup> Dunbar foundation charter, pp. 89, 97.

<sup>79</sup> *CSSR* iv.33. Young stayed at the Curia until at least September.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* 46. Young again invokes his kinship with the earls of Douglas in these supplications.

#### IV. *Structura sumptuosa*: the voice of Roslin collegiate church

To conclude this chapter, we will look at the college which seems potentially to be the most eloquent concerning its patrons aspirations and intentions: Roslin chapel. Its eloquence, however, is not necessarily in an intelligible tongue.<sup>81</sup> Roslin is undoubtedly the most famous or, currently, notorious collegiate church in Scotland. When thinking about the college as a marker of nobility, this seems quite justified: it is certainly the most self-conscious collegiate foundation in Lothian, just as its founder, Earl William Sinclair (d. c.1480), has some claim to be called the most self-conscious magnate of the period. Roslin's history is in some respects similar to Dunbar's, in being very thinly documented and at one point mysteriously disrupted. The foundation date, unless new evidence comes to light, cannot be known precisely; the church was being built, in order to house a college, after 1444, and was apparently in some functional state by 1456.<sup>82</sup> It is perhaps possible that the two traditional dates of 1446 and 1450 mark the beginning of building and the constitutional erection to college status.<sup>83</sup> In 1476, the gift of the presidency and prebends was included among the lands and privileges which Earl William resigned to his son Oliver, whom he chose as heir to his Midlothian lands; a supplication to Rome of February 1477 shows that the college had a president (not a provost), six prebendaries and three clerks, and that its endowments were out of Sinclair's 'hereditary goods', presumably meaning land and rents (the supplication sought, however, to annexe Pentland parish church). It is noteworthy that this

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<sup>81</sup> St Paul would disapprove. 1 Cor. 14.

<sup>82</sup> After 1444, from the list of *prepositura* among material prefacing the *Scotichronicon*, ed. Watt, ix.24. By 1456, from the Testament of Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath, *Bannatyne Misc.* iii.96.

<sup>83</sup> *MRHS* p.225 (Cowan and Easson, however, make no commitment on date); cf. B. Crawford, 'Earl William Sinclair and the Building of Roslin Collegiate Church', in Higgitt, ed., *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews*, p.101.



unusual constitution was chosen, and suggests a particular wish to diverge from the usual form. The supplication of 1477 also mentions a hospital, but this seems to disappear from record and may be a mistake.<sup>84</sup> The building is said in 1477 to be 'distinguished', 'magnificent', and built with 'sumptuous work'; it was, however, unfinished, as it remains, and an indulgence of relaxation of enjoined penance was granted to visitors who supported the chapel, on St Matthew's Day and on the day of the church's dedication each year.

Sinclair's supplication, despite being sponsored by the king, was not wholly successful; the appropriation of Pentland church was refused, and the relaxation of penance to be allowed was not as great as had been asked.<sup>85</sup> (This did, however, allow Sinclair's illegitimate son Thomas to become rector of Pentland, which was within the earl's patronage anyway, in 1482.<sup>86</sup>) Moreover, as Barbara Crawford argues, Sinclair's political insecurity after 1456, leading to the resignation of the earldom of Orkney, was a financial drain which probably interfered with the maintenance of the church<sup>87</sup>; and the situation would only be exacerbated if the 1477 supplication is accurate in its suggestion that the church's endowments were all from Sinclair's temporal goods rather than ecclesiastical revenues (teinds from the Roslin area were certainly never appropriated to the foundation<sup>88</sup>). The absence of Roslin from the Calendar of Papal Letters, apart from the 1477 supplication, indeed leads one to wonder how many of the prebends had been filled; and

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<sup>84</sup> E. Williamson, 'Scottish Benefices and Clergy during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84): the evidence in the *Registra Supplicationum*', University of Glasgow PhD thesis, 1998: Vol. II: App. 3 – Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, Jan. 1470 – 12 Aug. 1484, no.432. The letters corresponding to this supplication apparently do not mention a hospital: CPL xiii.557-8. There is no mention of a hospital at Roslin, or Pentland, in MRHS; neither is a hospital mentioned when the college was re-established in c.1523/4: *St Andrews Formulare 1514-46*, vol. i, ed. G. Donaldson and C. Macrae, Stair Society 7 (1942), no.289; Fr Richard Augustine Hay, prior of St Pieremont, *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn, including the Chartulary of Rosslyn* (Edinburgh, 1835) pp.123ff., NAS, Borthwick of Borthwick, GD350/1/961.

<sup>85</sup> Williamson, 'Calendar': it was only 'granted as sought' *de confirmatione et de indulgentia septem annorum in duobus festis*; cf. CPL xiii.557-8.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* p.756.

<sup>87</sup> Crawford, 'Building of Roslin Collegiate Church', pp.103-6.

<sup>88</sup> I.B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (SRS 1967), pp.172-3.

the first known provost is not until the sixteenth century. The college was further disrupted by an unknown incident involving violent bloodshed, which led to its reconsecration, 1476x97.<sup>89</sup>

Not a great deal seems to be known about the activities of Oliver Sinclair, or his son George; and certainly very little is known about their ecclesiastical interests. Fr Hay's inference that Oliver completed the building of Roslin chapel as we have it, owing to the appearance of the Sinclair of Roslin arms as a pendant from the main aisle's vaulting, may well be correct.<sup>90</sup> The gift of the presidency and prebendaries reappears in Oliver's resignation of Roslin to George in 1491/2.<sup>91</sup> However, in the main one gets the impression that the college must have been thoroughly in the doldrums, for it was refounded by William Sinclair of Roslin in 1521x3/4 in terms which look like those of an entirely new foundation. Frustratingly, this charter itself has not survived, but the mercifully verbose top and tail of the archbishop's confirmation give some idea of its content.<sup>92</sup> Earl William is mentioned as the builder of the 'wonderful and distinguished' structure, but not the founder of the college; the college is now to consist of a *provost* and four prebendaries, and a vicar-pensioner of Pentland parish church, the rectory and vicarage revenues of which were to be 'dismembered' to endow the foundation. The archbishop's agreement to 'raise (*sublimare*) the church of St Matthew... into a collegiate church, and adorn it with collegial honours, dignity and pre-eminence', clearly suggests that there was no effective college at the time of this charter. On 5<sup>th</sup> February 1523/4, William Sinclair augmented the college with lands in Roslin, providing manses and gardens

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<sup>89</sup> Crawford, 'Building of Roslin Collegiate Church', p.106 and n.33; 'Commonplace book' of James Gray (secretary to Archbishop Scheves), NLS Adv. MS 34.7.3, fo.31v (NB the folio reference in Crawford's article has been misprinted). The archbishop's mandate to reconcile the church has been copied, minus some details, into Gray's notebook, apparently as an addition to the formulary which takes up a large part of the manuscript. [Crawford assigns the incident to 1481, but it is not clear why.]

<sup>90</sup> *Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyn*, p.107.

<sup>91</sup> RMS ii.2076.

<sup>92</sup> *St Andrews Formulare* no.289. This must be dated after 18<sup>th</sup> May 1521, and by 5<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1523/4 (*vide infra*).



for the provost, sacrist, and third and fourth prebendaries (attached respectively to the altars of St Matthew, the Blessed Virgin, St Andrew and St Peter): again, if the 1477 supplication can be trusted in its claim that Earl William had provided suitable residences for the prebendaries, the arrangements must have become, at best, inadequate by this time.

Despite Roslin's variable fortunes on the constitutional front, the building nonetheless leaves one with no doubt that the church succeeded in impressing from the outset; our first reference to it says that Sinclair *est in fabricando sumptuosam structuram apud Roslin*.<sup>93</sup> At least the lower chapel, or sacristy, and the easternmost chapels must have been completed within Earl William's lifetime, on heraldic evidence.<sup>94</sup> We do not know exactly which generations of Sinclairs contributed to the building; given that the formal ecclesiastical organisation lapses at some point in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, it seems most unlikely that there was much effort going into building at this time, so we can perhaps assume that the extant choir was largely built in or shortly after Earl William's lifetime<sup>95</sup>, with possibly some more work done when the college was refounded in the 1520s. On the whole, an early date is probably to be preferred, given that Alexander Sutherland seems to have assumed the church to be usable in 1456. The 1477 indulgence perhaps marks a sticking point. Whatever the progress of building, however, it is the remarkable decoration which truly merits its descriptions of *insigne, miro* and the like: the decorations rather forlornly left on the west side of the abortive transept walls suggest that adornment was done in tandem with construction, so even early on it would have impressed and bemused its viewers.

There can be very little doubt that Earl William knew exactly what a singular foundation he was engaged in; as we have mentioned, the preference for a president rather than a provost itself shows awareness of

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<sup>93</sup> *Scotichronicon*, ed. Watt, vol. ix p.28

<sup>94</sup> Crawford, 'Building of the Collegiate Church of Roslin', p.102.

<sup>95</sup> This is Crawford's implied conclusion.

difference. This conscious effort is demonstrably linked to his, and his family's, self-consciousness, in several respects, all closely connected.

Firstly we find awareness of the Sinclairs as an honourable and memorable family. As we have mentioned, one expects the private chapels of noblemen to prompt reverence and memory with heraldic ornamentation. A glance within Roslin, however, shows this conventional tendency taken to extremes, as any guide book will point out, and we can presume that furnishings and vestments would have intensified this impression still further. The omnipresent Sinclair engrailed crosses in the church's decoration physically structure this house of prayer and commemoration just as the lineage and this-worldly loyalties represented by the arms structured those prayers and commemorations.<sup>96</sup> As Jonathan Hughes has observed (with admirable sensibility), it is impossible to recapture precisely the almost magical degree to which armorial imagery, and most of all armorial combined with Christian imagery, could and did stir the heart and structure the imagination.<sup>97</sup> What we do know is that Earl William was peculiarly conscious of the power of Christian knighthood, given that he sponsored Gilbert Hay's translations of 'The Buke of the Law of Armys', 'The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede', and 'The Gouvernaunce of Princis'. While there are many pages of dry and detailed regulations for the conduct of battles and knights, the first was addressed to Charles VI as an encouragement to succour the Church in her wretched state (it was written at the time of the Great Schism) and includes a lively history of the Church's tribulations, including interpretations of the more dramatic parts of Revelation; 'The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede', meanwhile, is framed by the tale of an old knight who spends his last years in contemplation, and includes as much advice on the virtues and vices as it does on the precision

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<sup>96</sup> Compare the list of beneficiaries in 1523/4: Sinclairs (and wives), plus the king, and relevant clerics.

<sup>97</sup> J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, 1988), p.16; cf. p.27, and Ch.1 *passim*.



of ceremonies.<sup>98</sup> Roslin's decoration reflects conscious appreciation of the same vivid images and massy detail found in such expositions of Christian chivalry.

Secondly, the church's dedication to St Matthew – or, the use of the church's dedication – can perhaps be connected with the family's ongoing interest in literature – or, at least, in articulation of ideas. The convenient association to be made between literary patronage and devotion to the author of a Gospel is probably too good to be true, as on the whole it is probable that an earlier chapel at Roslin<sup>99</sup> was dedicated to Matthew: the grants of Roslin in 1476 and 1492 suggest that the 'chapel of St Matthew' was in some way separate from 'the collegiate church of Roslin'.<sup>100</sup> The 1477 supplication does however say that Earl William founded the church 'in honour of St Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist, whom he wished to be patron'. Matthew is in any case an extremely rare dedication in Scotland, and indeed Britain,<sup>101</sup> and the most has been made of the implications of Matthew's patronage. There are certainly two and possibly three carved representations of the twelve Apostles in the church.<sup>102</sup> Of the four known altar dedications, Andrew and Peter joined their fellow-Apostle Matthew by 1524. It was probably the rarity of the dedication which prompted the subject of the archbishop's preamble to his confirmation of the refoundation: he explains the particular honour of places founded under the names of the Apostles and Evangelists, and the particular efficacy of their intercession.<sup>103</sup> This all looks much like the same apparently deliberate (over?)development

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<sup>98</sup> Sir Gilbert Hay, *The Buke of the Law of Armys or Buke of Bataillis*, ed. J.H. Stevenson (STS 1901), pp.1-4 and the First Part *passim*; *The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede and The Buke of the Gouvernaunce of Princis*, ed. J.A. Glenn (STS 1993), Ch. 1, 3, and esp. 7 (pp.1-8, 13-25, 39-50).

<sup>99</sup> *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 10<sup>th</sup> Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Midlothian and West Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1929), p.106.

<sup>100</sup> RMS ii.1270, 2076.

<sup>101</sup> J.M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh, 1910), pp.265-7.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* p.103.

<sup>103</sup> *Genealogie of the Sainte Claires* pp.124ff.

of the theme which is to be found with regard to armorial and chivalric identity.

Thirdly, and perhaps more speculatively, one element in the church's decoration may suggest an archetype of articulacy with which the Sinclairs (or *a* Sinclair) identified. This is the only piece of carved text inside the church, which is found in the south aisle, over the steps down to the lower chapel, on the architrave between the so-called 'Prentice Pillar' and the south wall. It is a near-quotation from I (or III) Esdras 3: *Forte est vinum, fortior est Rex, fortiores sunt mulieres, super omnia vincit veritas*, 'Wine is strong, the King is stronger, women are stronger [still], but Truth conquers all'.<sup>104</sup> While it is not in an immensely prominent position (although its close relation to the staircase may be noteworthy), as the only writing to be found it is not unreasonable to imagine that it was intended to have some significance.

It refers to the story of a wisdom competition held between the three bodyguards of King Darius, in the Ezra-Nehemiah period when the people of Israel were in exile and making sporadic attempts to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. The three guards compete to offer the wisest answer – in the judgement of Darius and his court – to the question of what thing may be strongest. The first offers wine; the second, the king; the third, women, plus the observation that truth is in fact even stronger. The third, who is Zerubbabel, a leader of the Jews in their rebuilding efforts, is proclaimed wisest for his praise of truth, which is equated with the Creator God, and, for his reward, he asks Darius to fulfil his vow of helping the Jews return to Jerusalem and build the Temple; which Darius promptly does.

The triumph of Truth is plainly a suitable enough matter to proclaim in any context, particularly in a church, and yet more particularly in a church dedicated to an Apostle and Evangelist, an inspired disseminator of truth.

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<sup>104</sup> III Esdras is considered apocryphal by all denominations. It was once regularly placed in the Old Testament; III Esdras is the old Vulgate numbering, coming after Ezra and Nehemiah, also known as I and II Esdras. III and IV Esdras (the latter an apocalyptic work) were removed from the canon at Trent; in modern collections of the Apocrypha, and in Old Testament scholarship, they are usually called I and II Esdras.



The use of this particular text, however, was probably meant to recall the story as well as the conclusion. Although the court's acclamation of Zerubbabel – *Magna est veritas, et prevalet!*<sup>105</sup> – became proverbial, Walther's collection of Latin medieval proverbs includes none which links *veritas* with wine, the king and women in this manner.<sup>106</sup> The history of Zerubbabel's rebuilding of the Temple is in fact found in Ezra, and this is repeated, in a slightly different order, in III Esdras; the wisdom tale is the only unique element in the book. Probably owing largely to the significant overlaps with Ezra, III Esdras also has a very low profile in the Biblical commentary tradition, although Aquinas provides, in a quodlibet, something that looks as though it could be a standard reading in terms of the philosophical argument.<sup>107</sup> However, the story does have another life as an *exemplum*. It is used in Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, a manuscript of which was in Sinclair hands certainly in the early sixteenth century; there are annotations, indeed, on the page where the tale appears.<sup>108</sup> That Earl William read this manuscript cannot be proved, but the ongoing interest in the story is suggestive. And if the carved text was intended to refer to the story, as much as to the argument or associated ideas arising from it, this can be seen as eminently suitable. For was not Earl William Sinclair, like Zerubbabel, a royal servant, whose ability

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<sup>105</sup> Or, ... *prevalebit*.

<sup>106</sup> H. Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters...*, 5 vols. (Göttingen, 1963-7, 1982-6), s.v. *veritas* and in *Fachindex* s.v. *veritas*. 'Magna est veritas et prevalebit' is at 38004. Otherwise, 'Res est invicta veritas' (40835) is perhaps closest to the text given in Roslin.

<sup>107</sup> The Fathers often considered III and IV Esdras to be of minor authority among the Apocrypha; the influential fourteenth-century commentator Nicholas of Lyra, one of various later medieval commentators to distinguish the Apocrypha from other books, agrees with this; at least one sixteenth-century edition of the Bible with Nicholas's and other glosses says there is not even a Glossa Ordinaria on III Esdras. *Biblia sacra cum glossis, interlineari & Ordinaria, Nicolai Lyrani Postilla & Moralitatibus, Burgensis Additionibus, & Thoringi Replicis*, 6 vols. (Lyons, 1545) [EUL copy, shelfmark A.3.4-8], i fo.2, ii fo.269v. Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*, ed. R. Spiazzi (Marietti edn, 1956), Quodlibet 12, questio xiv; Thomas does not cite III Esdras elsewhere in his Quodlibets, or in his *Summae* (from the index to the Marietti edition of Thomas's *Summa Theologiae* and *Summa contra Gentiles*). My thanks to Dr Lesley Smith for advice on the commentary tradition concerning Esdras.

<sup>108</sup> P. Bawcutt, 'The Boston Public Library MS of John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*: Its Scottish owners and inscriptions', *Medium Aevum* lxx (2001), 80-91. I am very grateful to Dr Sally Mapstone for this reference.

and (he must have hoped) reputation were associated with literary wisdom? His (relatively brief) tenure of the Chancellorship, during the period when Roslin was being built, surely represents the triumph of a magnate with articulacy to match ambition. Furthermore, he was, like Zerubbabel, a learned royal servant who wished to build; and, if James III's sponsorship of the 1477 supplication is anything to go by, Sinclair had some thought of building with royal backing. While we cannot be certain that it was Earl William who decided on this quotation, it is hardly any less suitable if adopted by other Sinclairs, who could certainly not forget the church's founder if they maintained interest in the foundation.

Roslin above all, then, exemplifies college foundation as a statement of noble identity, encompassing practical wisdom, piety and royal service, all elements in the definition of a good nobleman.



### Chapter Three

#### *The Kings in Lothian: Pious patronage and royal foundations*

Royal ecclesiastical interests in Lothian can be considered under two aspects. With regard to the practice of religion in Lothian, kings and the royal family appear in the guise of outstandingly wealthy and relatively well-documented lay patrons of ecclesiastical institutions and services. They are of particular interest from this point of view because the kings are among the few individuals in late medieval Scotland whom the present-day individual has any sense of knowing as a human personality. When looking at the kings, the historian can find himself in that happy but rare situation where documented religious deeds can be placed in a reasonably full context of a lifetime's activities, and upon this in turn can be brought to bear the human observations of (variously) chroniclers, poets and ambassadors. Little historiography has thus far considered Scotland's kings *primarily* in this light. Perhaps the only historian so to do is A.A. MacDonald in his work on James III and the Chapel Royal at Restalrig.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, a king's ecclesiastical interests in Lothian can be viewed in terms of his exercise of kingship in a locality. In existing historiography, indeed, kings' (and magnates') Church patronage has been analysed largely in terms of its contribution to their practical political power and projected authority, both across a reign and in terms of regional policies. The former approach is exemplified in Macdougall's chapter on 'Piety and Politics' in his *James IV*. The latter is found most recently in Michael Penman's treatment of David II's project at St Monan's, which is placed primarily in the context of

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<sup>1</sup> A.A. MacDonald, 'The Chapel of Restalrig: Royal Folly or Venerable Shrine?', in A.A. MacDonald, S. Mapstone, L.A.J.R. Houwen, *A palace in the wild : essays on vernacular culture and humanism in late-medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven, 2000).

David's 'royalist' support-base built up in lands immediately north and south of the Forth.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter begins with an overview of Scottish kings' pious interests in Lothian from Robert Bruce to James III: 'pious', that is, taken to mean donations and foundations which are at least formally directed towards support of liturgy or religious life. New foundations are considered in more detail. Some discussion of individual kings' devotional attitudes is offered where evidence permits. A more extended discussion of aspects of James IV's pious activities concludes the chapter. James IV's reign is in several respects more thoroughly documented than any previous king's. Here his alms-giving and pious donation in Lothian are examined, primarily from the Treasurer's Accounts, which survive reasonably extensively for his reign. Finally, his major foundation of the Chapel Royal at Stirling is set in the context of the development of the Scottish Chapel Royal, an institution which has hitherto received relatively little historiographical attention.

## **I. Kings and churches in Lothian, Robert I to James III**

The history of royal pious giving in Lothian reflects the position of Lothian in political geography. It is in general not very central to kings' ecclesiastical interests in the fourteenth century, apart from some attention to monastic houses and Edinburgh Castle's chapels. The Jameses then have an increasing focus on Lothian, particularly James III and James IV: all the major royal foundations of the second half of the fifteenth century are in Lothian, just as royal government was increasingly centred on Edinburgh.

### **i. Robert (Bruce) I**

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<sup>2</sup> Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp.196-219. Cf. Michael Brown's brief treatment of James I's early ecclesiastical policy including his foundation of Perth Charterhouse, *James I*, pp.116-8; also *idem*, *The Black Douglases*, Chapter 9, on the Douglases' ecclesiastical interests and policies. M. Penman, *David II 1329-71* (East Linton, 2004), pp.260-268.



Despite the modern quasi-cult in the new Dunfermline abbey church of 1821 – with his name built into the tower and his tomb marked out, while St Margaret's is all but ignored – Robert I's reputation as a national hero has little to do with his piety. Professor Barrow suggests that 'the king's piety and devotion' is 'unfamiliar and unattractive' to 'the modern Scottish mind, largely Protestant or post-Protestant,' though it might equally be noted that medieval Scottish praise of the king is focussed on Robert Bruce the warrior and national saviour.<sup>3</sup> Bruce's actions were at times beyond the pale of decency, and (like other princes aplenty) he persistently defied spiritual sanctions.<sup>4</sup> As Barrow points out, however, Bruce had a demonstrable devotion to certain saints, and made a pilgrimage to Whithorn in his last illness.<sup>5</sup> He made provision for his family's souls, particularly by venerating St Malachy whom his grandfather had dishonoured.<sup>6</sup> He also made a grant to Holm Cultram, where his father was buried, and to the chapel which his sister Christian founded for the soul of her husband Christopher Seton.<sup>7</sup> His grants to Dunfermline Abbey rather pointedly graft him into the royal succession descended from St Margaret, as does his body's burial there.<sup>8</sup> Numerous other grants and confirmations to religious houses both provide for his own soul and contribute to reconstructing the kingdom after the depredations of war. He seems to have had particular affection for Arbroath Abbey, the house of his great Chancellor Abbot Bernard,<sup>9</sup> and for the Cistercians of Melrose. The most detailed and personal of his recorded grants

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<sup>3</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn (Edinburgh, 2005), p.412. Cf. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib XIII cc.13-16; and the general approach of Barbour's *Bruce*, very much focussed on Bruce's martial virtues (cf Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.404-5).

<sup>4</sup> Bruce famously killed John Comyn of Badenoch in the Franciscan church at Dumfries. In the course of Anglo-Scottish negotiations, Bruce and several Scottish bishops were excommunicated by John XXII: G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.182-3, 393-4. John XXII's excommunications were admittedly a debased currency: Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, Paradiso xviii.127-9.

<sup>5</sup> Barrow, *Bruce*, p.414.

<sup>6</sup> RRS v.85 (RMS i.75), RRS v.145.

<sup>7</sup> RRS v.170, 262.

<sup>8</sup> RRS v.188, *Dunf. Reg.* no 346.

<sup>9</sup> Barrow, *Bruce*, p.413.

is to the monks of Melrose: a very generous £100 sterling a year from Berwick's farms of new customs. This was for the most part to be spent in the abbey's interest by one appointed monk, but it was also to be used to provide a daily 'dish of rice prepared with milk-of-almonds or fish or other food-stuffs of a similar sort in the country' ('ferculum risarum factarum cum lacte amigdalarum vel piscarum sive aliorum ciborum consimilis conditionis in patria') for each monk, and to feed and clothe fifteen paupers every Martinmas.<sup>10</sup> There is also a letter of May 1329 addressed by Robert to his son David (II), with instructions to fulfil his obligations towards Melrose, reverence the Cistercians suitably, and encourage prayers for his soul. This mentions his intention to have his heart buried at Melrose. A.A.M. Duncan considers this letter to be a Melrose production, and the dying king was indeed probably in no condition to refuse assent to such a text.<sup>11</sup> Bruce's earlier generous and unusual grant to the abbey does, however, suggest personal interest. Bruce also had a considerable devotion to St Fillan, and granted land to found a priory at Strathfillan.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from Melrose, then, Lothian does not feature particularly heavily in Bruce's interests. As Barrow has shown, Bruce's natural context was Gaelic Scotland – the *gaidhealtachd* – and the Irish sea world, as shown by his withdrawal to Cardross in his final illness.<sup>13</sup> The Fillan cult was very much part of this milieu, and while Bruce's devotion to St Fillan was picked up by several associates and followers, including Robert duke of Albany in a possibly deliberate echoing of Robert I's practices, Lothian is one of the areas where Fillan's cult is entirely invisible.<sup>14</sup> Bruce's piety is worth considering a little further nonetheless, for despite his outstanding personal capacities, which enabled him to seize a crown and reconstruct a kingdom, there is a

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<sup>10</sup> RRS v.288 (1326). See also the comments of Ranald Nicholson on Bruce's conservative inclinations, *Later Middle Ages* pp.113-4.

<sup>11</sup> RRS v.380, and commentary.

<sup>12</sup> Barrow, *Bruce*, p.412; Simon Taylor, 'The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland', in *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages*, eds. T.R. Liskka and L.E.M. Walker (Dublin, 2001), esp. pp.184-190

<sup>13</sup> Barrow, *Bruce*, pp.416-8.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor, 'Cult of St Fillan', pp.175-182, Map 1 (p.177), pp.188-192, Appendix 2 (pp.202-8).



case to be made that in his religious observance Bruce was very average. This is (perhaps oddly) seen in his most famous act of devotion: sending his heart to be taken posthumously on crusade in the hands of Sir James Douglas.<sup>15</sup> This action has been examined by Grant G. Simpson, who concludes that it was intended to project an image of the right sort of kingship besides being a truly pious gesture.<sup>16</sup> This may be true; two depictions of Bruce's last words – a conventional enough literary scene, as Simpson notes – nonetheless offer a useful image of pious death in a secular noble context, apparently satisfactory to an audience who viewed Bruce as a hero. John Barbour (noting also Bruce's generosity to regulars) writes in *The Bruce*, composed in the 1370s:

His testament than has he maid  
 Befor bath lordis and prelatis,  
 And to religioun of ser statis  
 For hele of his saule gaf he  
 Silver in gret quantite.  
 He ordanyt for his saule weill,  
 And quhen this done wes ilkadele  
 He said, 'Lordingis, sua is it gayn  
 With me that thar is nocht bot ane,  
 That is the dede withoutyn drede  
 That ilk man mon thole off nede.  
 And I thank God that has me sent  
 Space in this lyve me to repent,  
 For throuch me and my werraying  
 Off blud has bene rycht gret spilling  
 Quhar mony sakles men war slayn,  
 Tharfor this seknes and this payn  
 I tak in thank for my trespas.  
 And myn hart fichyt sekylly was  
 Quhen I wes in prosperite  
 Off my synnys to sauffyt be  
 To travaill apon Goddis fayis,  
 And sen he now me till him tayis  
 Sua that the body may na wys  
 Fullfill that the hart gan devis  
 I wald the hart war thidder sent

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* cc.19-20. Bower states that Bruce sent his heart to the Holy Land, to be buried at the Holy Sepulchre. There is some ambiguity over whether Bruce had the Holy Land specifically in mind, or whether any front of holy war would do. John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed./tr. A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1999), note pp.751-2.

<sup>16</sup> Grant G. Simpson, 'The Heart of King Robert I: Pious Crusade or Marketing Gambit?', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, ed. Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp.173-186.

Quharin consavyt wes that entent.<sup>17</sup>

Jean le Bel gives him the words,

... When I had the most to do, I made a vow which I have not fulfilled, which troubles me. I vowed that, if I could ever achieve the completion of my war, whereby I could govern this kingdom in peace, I would go to make war on the enemies of the Lord, and the opponents of the Christian faith overseas, with my loyal following. My heart wanted it, but Our Lord would not agree to it... I want to send my heart for my body, to acquit myself and my vow... take my heart to the Holy Sepulchre, where Our Lord was raised, since my body cannot go there...<sup>18</sup>

Jean le Bel's Bruce exhibits in his person the commonly-voiced desire of Christian princes to go on Crusade if peace at home could be achieved.<sup>19</sup> He also acknowledges that a vow made ought to be fulfilled, the sort of attention to justice which was an acknowledged necessity in death-bed provision. Barbour's Bruce speaks less explicitly in terms of the need to fulfil a vow, but does show awareness of the particular debts of the secular prince: his state in life has involved the killing of innocents, for which he accepts he must suffer at least temporally, and he hopes that this posthumous endeavour may also do some good. Preachers and devotional writers might have despaired at the implied assumption that one got on with worldly life while healthy, and hoped for time to repent in sickness before one died.<sup>20</sup> But the mentality represented in both these depictions of Bruce can serve as a key to his actions, interpreting them as those of a decent, average secular lord. These literary texts are not portraits from life, or indeed, strictly, portraits at all; they are both nonetheless convincing images of the man whose day-to-day concerns were primarily worldly, and who yet lived with a Catholic cosmology and was glad to die in submission to the faith.

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<sup>17</sup> Barbour, *Bruce*, ed. Duncan, pp.751-3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* pp.750-751.

<sup>19</sup> As in the 1320 'Declaration of Arbroath' to John XXII in the name of the Scottish nobles. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XIII c.3.

<sup>20</sup> Cf Petrarch's *Secretum*, tr. W.H. Draper (London, 1911), Dialogue the First and pp.152-7; and, more distantly, Beatrice's rebukes to Dante in *Purgatorio* xxxi. Compare also J. Leclercq, F. Vandenbroucke and L. Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, History of Christian Spirituality vol. ii (London, 1968), Ch. 7 esp pp.439-446; A. Murray, 'Piety and Impiety in thirteenth-century Italy', *Popular Belief and Practice*, eds. G.J. Cuming and Derek Baker, Studies in Church History viii (Cambridge, 1972) on the friars (and their demands on the laity) as 'extraordinary people in an ordinary age'.



## ii. David II

Robert I's ill-fortuned son David II also cultivated a devotion to a native saint: Monan, one of the companions of St Adrian of May. David had had the tip of an arrow lodged in his skull since the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. In the 1360s he went on pilgrimage to St Monan and, as he prayed before an image of the saint, the arrowhead finally fell out. David built a new church on the Fife coast in his honour and endowed two chaplainries there.<sup>21</sup> Exactly why he sought Monan's particular aid is not known; like his father's love of St Fillan, however, it indicates a known, active cult which only happens to be known to posterity because one of its adherents was the king. David's Lothian interests are less limited than his grandfather's. He rebuilt Edinburgh Castle including the building of a new chapel, St Mary's, in which a chaplain was maintained with an income from Edinburgh's burgh farms<sup>22</sup>; and he made arrangements with the canons of Holyrood to serve his chapel. (Exactly what this may have entailed will be discussed in more detail below.)<sup>23</sup> He was also buried at Holyrood Abbey, though this may have been a matter of mere expedience.<sup>24</sup> Michael Penman suggests that the focus of David's pious giving is to be correlated with his formation of a royal affinity of men with lands around the Firth of Forth.<sup>25</sup>

## iii. Roberts II and III

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<sup>21</sup> *Breviarium Aberdonense*, Pars Hyemalis, Proprium Sanctorum, fos 59v-60r. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XIV c.3 (and notes); RMS i.304.

<sup>22</sup> ER ii.246.

<sup>23</sup> RRS vi.59.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Penman, *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton, 2004), p.412. Note that the reference on this page to Archibald Douglas's hospital at *Holyrood* should read *Holywood* (*Clement VII Letters*, p.34).

<sup>25</sup> Penman, *David II*, pp.260-68. Penman's reference to David's chaplainry at St Catherine's altar in St Giles' is however misleading: this really seems to be a foundation by a burgess with the support of a laird; that the grant is made in David's name seems to be a means of obtaining a particularly strong royal confirmation.

The first Stewart kings, Roberts II and III, both retained their greatest personal interest in the lands of the Stewart patrimony. Robert II died there at Dundonald<sup>26</sup>; he was buried, after some delay, at Scone.<sup>27</sup> Robert III died on Rothesay and was buried at Paisley Abbey, patronised by generations of Stewarts.<sup>28</sup> The south-east was certainly not the area of their major ecclesiastical interests. Robert II did, however, endow a new chaplainry in St Margaret's chapel in Edinburgh Castle shortly before he died. Robert III confirmed this, but transferred it to St Mary's chapel. Subsequent records suggest that the chaplain may have served in both.<sup>29</sup> Abbot Bower's chronicle includes an interesting anecdote suggesting that Robert III had a reputation for consciously unostentatious piety. His wife once asked him when he was going to make provision for a proper tomb: Robert responded with self-deprecation, not to say self-denegration,

Quasi una de mundialibus mulieribus locuta es, quia si bene consideravero quid quis et qualis sim, quid in natura quia sperma fetidum, quis in persona quia esca vermium, et qualis in vita quia miserimus hominum, tanquam nichil curarem superbum erigere tumulum. Habeat igitur hii homines dilucida monumenta qui in hoc seculo ambiunt honitis oblectamenta. Ego autem preoptaverim sepeliri in imo sterquilinii, ut spiritus meus salvat fiat in die Domini. Sepelite igitur me, deprecor, in sterquilino et scribatis pro meo epitafio: 'Hic jacet pessimus rex et miserimus hominum in universo regno.'

You have spoken like a worldly woman, for if I think carefully over what, who and of what kind I am – on what is my nature (because I am like a stinking seed), on what is my personality (because I am food for worms), and on what is the nature of my life (because I am the most wretched of men) – I should as a result have no desire to erect a proud tomb. Therefore let these men who strive in this world for the pleasures of honour have shining monuments. I on the other hand should prefer to be buried in a midden, so that my soul may be saved in the day of the Lord. Bury me therefore, I beg you, in a midden, and write for my epitaph: 'Here lies the worst of kings and the most wretched of men in the whole kingdom.'<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton, 1996), pp.171-3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* pp.174, 176.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* pp.297, 312.

<sup>29</sup> RMS ii.805; ER iii.133, 221, 321, v.180, viii.119, 390; and indexed s.v. 'Edinburgh'.

<sup>30</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XV c.19.



This reported choice of epitaph is sometimes quoted out of context as a judgement on his kingship.<sup>31</sup> While Robert was indeed an ineffective king, at least inasmuch as he was displaced by lieutenants, this story is not about Robert's assessment of his political abilities. It is rather a stylised depiction of Robert's espousal of a particular attitude, an attitude particularly fashionable in certain noble circles in England and more widely represented by the construction of cadaver tombs and (at a remove) by princely patronage of the Carthusians.<sup>32</sup> James I's charterhouse is the only other hint of this flavour of piety within Scotland. It is unfortunately impossible to say whether Bower's anecdote about Robert indicates a wider presence of such thought. Bower himself is certainly fond of such sentiments.<sup>33</sup>

#### iv. James I

Scottish kingship altered in many respects after James I's return from English captivity in 1424. As earlier historians have commented, James was greatly influenced by Henry V, his captor and yet also, it seems, something of a mentor. In his early legislation James sought to combat Lollardy and reform the hospitals in Scotland, and prescribed prayers to be said nationwide for the royal family.<sup>34</sup> James also encouraged reform of the life of

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<sup>31</sup> Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1984), p.184. Nicholson gives a fuller quotation, but also adds, 'Robert III had long laboured under a sense of personal failure.' *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* pp.227-8.

<sup>32</sup> K.B. McFarlane, 'Lollard Wills', *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972), esp. pp.210-219 (McFarlane notes that Henry IV's own will uses language of humility and repentance); Jeremy Catto, 'Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century', in *History and Imagination: Essays in honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper*, eds., Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl and Blair Worden (London, 1981), 43-55, esp. pp.50-52 (Catto also corrects McFarlane's interpretation of such language as chiefly Lollard); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, (London, 1996) pp.131-3.

<sup>33</sup> Bower adds a poem on man's transitory nature – dust, ashes, food for worms – to Fordun's work in *Scotichronicon* Lib. II c.63, and he writes a chapter on this, including a 12<sup>th</sup>-century poem, after Alexander III's death: Lib. X c.44, and see notes vol. ix pp.511-3.

<sup>34</sup> APS ii.7 (March 1424/5). Vigilance against heresy, however, was already an acknowledged part of the king's duty, reported in 1398 to be mentioned in the coronation oath and also sworn to by the Duke of Rothesay upon taking up the lieutenancy: *ibid.* i.572-3. On Henrician influence, see E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, *James I* (London, 1936), pp.117-8. Cf. J. Catto,

Scotland's Augustinians and Benedictines.<sup>35</sup> The chapel royal seems to have undergone considerable development, probably along English lines, in James's reign, as will be discussed in more detail below. James I's favoured centre was Perth. The Charterhouse was his major project, and the Perth Blackfriars a favoured residence. He even considered relocating St Andrews University to Perth.<sup>36</sup> However, two areas of Lothian were more briefly focuses of his interest: Leith and Linlithgow.

Leith was divided into South Leith, Edinburgh's port, and North Leith, belonging to Holyrood Abbey. South Leith was juridically part of Restalrig barony, but all trade through the harbour was in Edinburgh's control. The extent of the urban settlement there in the early fifteenth century is barely documented, and more rapid development, including land-reclamation, does not seem to have begun until the second half of the century.<sup>37</sup> James I however seems to have taken an interest in Leith, and had this continued the course of the port's urban growth might have been rather different. James began to build a construction known as the 'King's Wark' on the Shore in South Leith by 1434. The accounts once refer to it rather surprisingly as a *palacia*, suggesting that it was intended as a royal lodging. In the end it was never used as this, and was instead let out as a storehouse.<sup>38</sup> It tends to be overlooked (including in Michael Brown's biography of James) that at much the same time James was also supporting the young foundation of St Anthony's hospital or preceptory by Leith. This was a

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'Religious Change Under Henry V', in G.L. Harriss, ed, *Henry V: The Practice Of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), 97-115, *passim*, esp. pp.100, 110-11. Cf. also M. Brown, *James I*, pp.114-8.

<sup>35</sup>Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XVI cc. 31-2.

<sup>36</sup>Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XVI c. 19. Brown, *James I*, pp.114-7.

<sup>37</sup>RCAHMS *City of Edinburgh* (1951), pp.lv-lviii, with further references; James D. Marwick, ed., *Charters and other documents relating to the City of Edinburgh AD1143-1540*, Scottish Burgh Records Society (Edinburgh, 1871) [*Edinb. Chrs*], nos xx, xxii, xxvi, xxxv; M. Livingstone, 'A Calendar of Charters and Other Writs ... in Possession of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland', *PSAS* xli (1906-7), 303-92, nos 4 and 5; A. Turner Simpson, S. Stevenson, N. Holmes, *Historic Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith: the archaeological implications of development* (Univ. of Glasgow, Scottish Burgh Survey, 1981), pp.63, 79-80.

<sup>38</sup>ER iv.577. Brown, *James I*, p.115.



hospital inhabited by canons of the Order of St Anthony of Vienne.<sup>39</sup> There were very few new foundations of Antonine houses after the thirteenth century.<sup>40</sup> The Scottish house is thus a rather unexpected creature, and it remains unclear precisely why the Order came to Scotland. The house apparently replaced a slightly earlier foundation with an Antonine dedication, as Easson and Cowan have identified.<sup>41</sup> In July 1418, one John *Clegarii*, 'hermit of St Anthony', 'rector' of 'the hospital of Leith, ... newly founded and inadequately endowed, ... founded in the honour and *sub vocabulo* of St Anthony', supplicated successfully to the pope for an indulgence to offer those who gave alms for the hospital.<sup>42</sup> By 1430, however, buildings were under construction for the canons of St Anthony of Vienne.<sup>43</sup> The eighteenth-century antiquarian Robert Mylne also notes an episcopal confirmation of the foundation of the chapel of St Anthony by Sir Robert Logan in 1430.<sup>44</sup> Some sources reckon Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, the local baron, to be the founder of the preceptory<sup>45</sup>; others give James I priority.<sup>46</sup> In any case James clearly supported the foundation's development. He tops the later manuscript list of the preceptory's confraternity members.<sup>47</sup> James's commitment to St Anthony's is not comparable to that to the *Vallis Virtutum* at Perth. Nonetheless, one wonders if, had James not been assassinated in 1437, he might have developed the royal presence at Leith further, including through patronage of St Anthony's.

James's attention to Linlithgow was similarly abortive. Two supplications to the pope outline plans which, although never carried out,

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<sup>39</sup> L. Maillet-Guy, 'Les Commanderies de l'Ordre de St-Antoine en Dauphiné', *Revue Mabillon* xvi (1926); R. Graham, 'The Order of St Antoine de Viennois and its English Commandery, St Anthony's, Threadneedle Street', *Archaeological Journal*, lxxxiv (2<sup>nd</sup> ser., xxxiv) (1927), pp.341-7.

<sup>40</sup> Maillet-Guy, 'Commanderies', p.7.

<sup>41</sup> *MRHS* p.184.

<sup>42</sup> *CSSR* i.12-13.

<sup>43</sup> *MRHS* pp.184-5; *CSSR* iii.232; *CPL* ix.405.

<sup>44</sup> NLS, Adv. MS. 34.3.12, p.11.

<sup>45</sup> *CSSR* iv.475. NLS, Adv. MS. 34.5.5, fos 4v, 10v.

<sup>46</sup> *CSSR* iv.987.

<sup>47</sup> NLS, Adv. MS. 34.5.5, fo 4v.

are very valuable as they show the first Scottish royal interest in collegiate foundation. In a supplication of 7<sup>th</sup> October 1430, James asked that the pope 'would erect said church of Lichew [sic] into a collegiate church, and create a provostship, a principal dignity, and two canonries, prebends and offices similar to other collegiate churches of these parts...'. The vicar of Linlithgow was to become the first provost, and several parish churches were to be appropriated to the new foundation.<sup>48</sup> A rather different and even more interesting supplication appears on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1431, where James and Queen Joan outline a plan to transfer Linlithgow parish church elsewhere, and in its place to found a college of one provost and twelve chaplains in honour of St John the Baptist.<sup>49</sup> James rebuilt Linlithgow palace with a grand entrance, ornamented with carved heraldry and symbolic figures.<sup>50</sup> A new college on a site only a few yards from the palace would have supplemented this, creating a grand royal complex closer to those at Windsor or on the Île de la Cité than had been enjoyed by any previous Scottish monarch. As with the less ambitious work at Leith, the Linlithgow project fell by the wayside as James's attention was focussed on Perth. Again, however, it is difficult not to ask whether James might have returned to this development had he lived.

#### v. James II and Mary of Gueldres

James II, in his brief and rather obscure reign as an adult king, is not known to have started on any particular ecclesiastical projects. He died aged only twenty-nine, killed by 'ane gun quhilk brak in the fyryng' at the siege of Roxburgh in August 1460, and of what can be known of his character it is pride and bellicosity which tend to dominate.<sup>51</sup> His widow, Mary of Gueldres, left the greater legacy in the form of the first royal collegiate

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<sup>48</sup> CSSR iii.140.

<sup>49</sup> CSSR iii.176.

<sup>50</sup> Brown, *James I*, p.115.

<sup>51</sup> Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp.111-112, Ch. 8 'The Character of the King'.



foundation in Scotland: Trinity College and hospital near Edinburgh. Mary also welcomed the Observant Franciscans to Edinburgh. James may have been involved in planning these matters before his death, especially Trinity College where building probably began before his death in August 1460, but there is no direct evidence of this.

Trinity College was the first royal collegiate foundation in Scotland. It was generally similar to the noble colleges, but had extremely generous and secure endowments, and unusually was less directly in the patron's control. Mary supplicated to Pius II to ask that the hospital of Soutra (Midlothian, south of Edinburgh), which had recently been appropriated to fund the chancellorship of St Andrews, should be detached from this dignity and appropriated to the new collegiate church and poors' hospital which Mary had founded to the north of Edinburgh, 'for the augmentation of divine worship and the reception and sustentation of Christ's paupers and other wretched persons'; this had already been built with *egregio quodam opere*. Pius responded to this supplication on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1460 with a letter of mandate for it to be carried out if the bishop of Glasgow and chapter of St Andrews confirmed the accuracy of Mary's narrative.<sup>52</sup> This was all confirmed in due course. The college was properly constituted in 1462: Mary sent the foundation charter in the form of a request for confirmation to the bishop of St Andrews, dated 25<sup>th</sup> March (the Annunciation) 1462, and it was confirmed at St Andrews on 1<sup>st</sup> April.<sup>53</sup> Papal confirmation was received on 18<sup>th</sup> June.<sup>54</sup> The foundation was made in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Ninian and all the saints. The college consisted of a provost, whose prebend was founded on Soutra church, certain lands in Soutra lordship, and the church of Lempetlaw (appropriated to Soutra since the early thirteenth century); the provost was to maintain a vicar and three paupers at Soutra. The second prebendary was the Master of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity

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<sup>52</sup> *Charters and Documents relating to the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, AD1460-1661* (SBRS, 1871) [*Trinity Chrs*], pp.3-10.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* pp.17-29.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* pp.29-34.

near Edinburgh, who was unsurprisingly responsible for administering the hospital's resources; he had to render an account of them at least twice a year to the provost and chapter. There were a sacrist, six more prebendaries and two clerks. The prebends were all founded on grants of land – some from Soutra's endowments, some granted by Mary – and shares in the fruits of parish churches which had long been in Soutra's possession. The hospital was to house thirteen paupers, and for its sustenance was granted the hospital of *Uthirrogill*, the rectory of Wemyss, and £20 annual rents from Edinburgh and Leith. The rectory of Kirkurd and lands in Balerno were further granted to provide for repairs and maintenance.

The prebendaries were bound to sing Matins, High Mass, Vespers and Compline every day. Each prebendary was also to say Mass every day, at the end of which he should go to the foundress's tomb and sprinkle it with holy water with hyssop, saying the *De profundis* with a collect and encouraging the people to devotion. A weekly Mass should be celebrated at the Lady altar immediately after Matins for travellers (*pro itinerantibus*), and there should be a weekly (*ebdomidalis*) Mass in the hospital's chapel for the poor and infirm. The prebendaries were also to celebrate an anniversary for James II while Mary was alive, and anniversaries for James, Mary and their children, ancestors and successors after her death on the days of their deaths. An anniversary was also to be kept for Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews.

What is novel is that only the provostry of this college was directly in royal patronage: the other prebendaries were to be presented by the provost and chapter (as were the vicars of the churches appropriated to the college).

The college's buildings were removed in 1848 to make way for Waverley railway station. The apse was eventually reconstructed just behind Jeffrey Street, and does show that the church when complete was indeed a fine building. The accounts show Mary's ready spending on the work. The college is probably best known today for the two magnificent panels by Hugo van der Goes which survive of an altarpiece commissioned by Edward



Bonkil, the first provost, in the 1470s.<sup>55</sup> Some of the college's chapter accounts also survive, beginning in 1503, and give an impression of a richly ornamented interior.<sup>56</sup> There are references to images of the Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, St Margaret and St Catherine<sup>57</sup>; a Lady Aisle, the Easter Sepulchre and an altar of St George<sup>58</sup>; a clock<sup>59</sup>; the purchase of a *precett sangbuk* (implying polyphony), reliquaries and thuribles<sup>60</sup>; and many sacred vessels and vestments, including vestments adorned with the foundress's arms.<sup>61</sup>

## vi. James III and Restalrig

James III does not seem to have taken much interest in his mother's foundation.<sup>62</sup> Both James III and IV shifted their attention to their own new colleges. James III's religious character is hard to pin down. He has a reputation as one of the most unpleasant of the Stewarts, but, as MacDougall points out, claims for James III's piety are made by Hector Boece and friar Adam Abell.<sup>63</sup> Abell's assessment of James is that 'he wes ane dewot man bot he wes gretumlie gevin to carnale pleseure by his halie queen and privat consall of sympill men.'<sup>64</sup> As Macdougall says, Boece's praise for James, in his *Vitae Episcoporum Murthlacensis et Aberdonensis*, is more than likely to derive from Boece's devotion to Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, James III's client: all figures surrounding Elphinstone come off equally well. However, in light of Abell's independent description, Macdougall suggests that there

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<sup>55</sup> Lorne Campbell, 'Edward Bonkil: a Scottish patron of Hugo van der Goes', *Burlington Magazine* cxxvi (1984), 265-274.

<sup>56</sup> *Midl. Chrs* pp.157-194

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* pp.157-8, 163..

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* pp.161-2, 165.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* p.158.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* pp.177, 179.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* p.164.

<sup>62</sup> Campbell, 'Edward Bonkil', pp.272-4.

<sup>63</sup> Macdougall, *James III*, pp.277, 280.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* p.314.

was a tradition of James III's devotion. Quite what Abell may mean by James's being 'ane dewot man' is not further specified, and clearly he did not necessarily mean a holy man. Assiduous piety and brutal action are not, however, impossible to combine, as Jonathan Hughes's study of Richard III makes clear.<sup>65</sup>

James's government was very firmly centred in Edinburgh.<sup>66</sup> As said, however, he did not pay much attention to his mother's foundation at Trinity College. James III's major ecclesiastical projects were instead even greater novelties in Scotland. James's ambitious ideas of his royal *imperium* were reflected in schemes of cultural patronage.<sup>67</sup> The same is true in the ecclesiastical sphere. James tried to suppress Coldingham Priory, at first trying simply to appropriate it to the Chapel Royal of St-Mary-on-the-Rock at St Andrews but shortly afterwards – more creatively – planning to turn the priory into a new collegiate church to be called the Chapel Royal of Coldingham, with a dean as its chief dignity.<sup>68</sup> This new foundation was never established, and there is no doubt that James's designs on Coldingham were closely connected to his struggle with the Humes over control of the priory's resources. The idea of a new collegiate establishment under the name of Chapel Royal was however a significant development, both for the Scottish chapel royal (discussed in detail below) and for the college in Scotland. A college headed by a dean had not been founded since Dunbar. Neither, apart perhaps from the abortive plan at Linlithgow, had there yet been a royal collegiate foundation explicitly associated with ecclesiastical

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<sup>65</sup> Cf Jonathan Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III: Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Stroud, 1997), *passim*, esp. Ch.1,

<sup>66</sup> Macdougall, *James III*, p.120.

<sup>67</sup> Alan Macquarrie, 'Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and friend of James III', *IR* xxxiii (1982); A.A. MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland under James III and James IV' in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, vol. i, eds. M. Gosman, A.A. MacDonald, A. Vanderjagt (Leiden, 2003), 147-172, esp. pp.160-161. I am grateful to Professor MacDonald for helpful correspondence about James III and Restalrig. On James III's uptake of ideas about 'imperial' kingship, see Roger A. Mason, 'This Realm of Scotland is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning*, ed. Crawford, pp.76-7.

<sup>68</sup> *CPL* xiii.14, 19.



service to the king *qua* king. Trinity College was a constitutional novelty in terms of its greater independence from its patron, but in other respects it was very similar to the existing noble colleges. The planned college at Coldingham was more obviously a departure from the collegiate tradition thus far established in Scotland.

The plan did not, however, come to fruition, and its potential significance was instead more fully expressed in James IV's Chapel Royal at Stirling. James III's major ecclesiastical legacy was in fact the collegiate church founded at Restalrig, the shrine of St Triduana, the project which gives the impression of being the most personal for James.

St Triduana of Restalrig is a virgin hermit who begins to appear in the calendars of Scottish liturgical books from the mid fifteenth century.<sup>69</sup> No narrative of her life is preserved earlier than the *lectiones* for her feast in the Aberdeen Breviary of 1510, the breviary compiled under the direction of Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen with the aim of developing a Scottish liturgical Use.<sup>70</sup> A holy woman named Triduana – with no mention of Restalrig – is however associated in other texts with both St Rule and the St

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<sup>69</sup> The Fowlis Easter Breviary (post 1437, and probably pre 1456) is probably the earliest of these: *Breviarium Bothanum sive Portiforium secundum usum ecclesiae cujusdam in Scotia*, printed from a MS. of the fifteenth century in the possession of John, Marquess of Bute, KT (London, 1900), pp. vi, 308. The Glenorchy Psalter, after 1450: London, British Library, Egerton MS 2899, fol. 5v. The Arbuthnott Missal (1491): *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott: Missale secundum usum Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotia* (Burntisland, 1864), p.cxii. She does not appear in the Calendar of Fearn (R.J. Adam, ed., *Calendar of Fearn*, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1991)), written by 1471. She is in the calendar of the book commissioned in the Low Countries for Dean Brown of Aberdeen, c.1498, but she is not among the saints usually added to books of hours made on the Continent for the Scottish market. David McRoberts, 'Dean Brown's Book of Hours', *Innes Review* xix (1968), pp.156, 158, 166-7. More generic books produced for the Scottish market include the Playfair Hours, London, National Art Library, KRP A 26 (see Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: a late fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript from Rouen* (London, 1984)); the Yester Hours (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS1576); Edinburgh, University Library, MSS 42 and 43.

<sup>70</sup> *Breviarium Aberdonense*, Pars Estiva, Proprium Sanctorum fols. 122v-123r (8<sup>th</sup> October). A translation of the lessons is given in A.A. MacDonald, 'The Chapel of Restalrig: Royal Folly or Venerable Shrine?', in A.A. McDonald, S. Mapstone, L.A.J.R. Houwen, *A palace in the wild: essays on vernacular culture and humanism in late-medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven, 2000).

Andrews origin legend, and St Boniface of Rosemarkie.<sup>71</sup> The Aberdeen Breviary *lectiones* pick up on the St Rule tradition, and offer further narrative of Triduana's life as a hermit in north-east Scotland, ending with a holy death at – in a slightly surprising geographical shift – Restalrig in Lothian followed by two posthumous miracles. Triduana is notionally placed in the fourth century, and no dates are offered for the miracles. Evidence for Restalrig as a cult site appears only with James III's building project there, and Triduana's name in fact first appears in connection with Restalrig in the 1490s. The antiquity of the shrine is thus open to some doubt, although the examples of Saints Fillan and Monan show how perfectly active cults can remain quite undocumented. This is not, however, the place to examine Triduana's puzzling history. James III's interest in Restalrig is very firmly recorded, even if the reasons for it remain unclear.

The barony and parish of Restalrig was north-east of Edinburgh, and included South Leith, Edinburgh's port. The Logans of Restalrig held the lands of Restalrig from some time in the later fourteenth century, probably through marriage into the de Lestalryk family, and were patrons of the parish church.<sup>72</sup> Unlike Coldingham, there was no political advantage to be gained by royal incursion on the parish. In 1487 a papal bull was obtained to licence the appropriation of Lasswade church to a new collegiate church at Restalrig, founded and built by the king. The building, described in the bull as constructed with 'sumptuous work', was a two-storey hexagonal chapel, to the immediate south-west of the parish church. This highly unusual design has already attracted careful study from Iain MacIvor and A.A. MacDonald, which has determined as far as possible from the extant remains the sequence of building works and its relationship to the sporadic

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<sup>71</sup> More extensive discussion of Restalrig and the cult of St Triduana will be found in H.S. Brown, 'St Triduana of Restalrig? Locating a saint and her cult in late medieval Lothian and beyond', in *Images of Sanctity: In Honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. D. Strickland, forthcoming (Leiden, 2007)

<sup>72</sup> Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1967), pp.170-1.



documentary evidence.<sup>73</sup> Given both the state of the building today and the relatively small number of documentary references, it is not possible to produce any more detailed a narrative of the project than MacIvor and MacDonald already have done. However, the question of why Restalrig caught James's interest, and what the function of a chapel royal at Restalrig was to be, remains under discussion.

Before the late fifteenth century, very little is known of this parish church. In November 1477, James III granted £12 10s in annual rents from lands in Leith and Canongate – including 12 merks from the King's Wark in Leith – to Sir Patrick Hog for his lifetime and thereafter in perpetuity to a chaplain to celebrate for the king's and others' souls, 'at the altar founded by the king in the upper chapel of the same church [the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Restalrig].'<sup>74</sup> It seems probable that Restalrig (usually written *Lestalryk* or *Lestalrig* in this period) is to be identified with the *Lestauream* to which Hector Boece reports that James III took the papal legate in 1477. In 1486-7, the Exchequer Rolls record £10 16s (from the Dundee customs) paid to a mason for stone slabs 'for the lord king's chapel next to the parish church of Restalrig.' The Master of the Fabric of this chapel is mentioned in the entry.<sup>75</sup> The institutional form intended for Restalrig finally becomes visible to the historian in November 1487: Pope Innocent VIII granted a petition of James III and Master John *Frisell* to detach Lasswade parish church from its appropriation to St Salvator's college in St Andrews, and to appropriate it instead to the capitular mensa of a new collegiate church. The king, the supplication reportedly noted, had had 'the church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and of the Blessed Virgin Mary within the limits of the parish church and place of Restalrig' 'built anew with sumptuous work', and had endowed it. If this church were to be erected into

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<sup>73</sup> I. MacIvor, 'The King's Chapel at Restalrig and St Triduana's Aisle: A Hexagonal Two-storied Chapel of the Fifteenth Century', *PSAS* xcvi (1963-4); MacDonald, 'The Chapel of Restalrig'.

<sup>74</sup> *RMS* ii.1329

<sup>75</sup> *ER* ix.540.

a collegiate church with a dean and a suitable number of canons, and Lasswade church appropriated to this church's capitular mensa, then divine worship would, the petition stated, be greatly increased. Innocent VIII dissolved the union to St Salvator's, erected the new college, and appropriated Lasswade thereto. Lasswade's annual income is estimated at no more than £50 sterling. The nature of the dean's benefice is defined, and Frisel is appointed dean.<sup>76</sup>

Although this bull comes ten years after James founded his chaplainry in the church, he had apparently not bestowed much in the way of endowment in the intervening decade, despite the petition's claims. The final refoundation of the college in 1515 stated that James III had been unable to grant such endowments before his death (in June 1488). At least some endowment had been made, however. In the Exchequer Rolls for 1491-2, the treasurer of Linlithgowshire records payment of £10 to Master John *Fresale* from the firms of the lands of Kirkhill in Strathbrock (Uphall). The unusually full entry in the accounts notes that the lands were, 'as it was asserted, alienated to the college of Restalrig for its endowment, and the lord king mandated [the accountant] to call the said Master John to show the foundation of the said college to the effect of the allocation of the said lands, which extended annually to ten pounds from the said annuals.'<sup>77</sup> This sounds as if there was a foundation charter for the college on the Scottish end, covering more than Innocent's bull did.

Master John went on to become Bishop of Ross, probably shortly before 10<sup>th</sup> September 1497, and died in the first half of 1507.<sup>78</sup> At some point during his episcopal career he founded a chaplainry 'of St Triduana' in 'the aisle of St Triduana within Restalrig church', which at first seems to have

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<sup>76</sup> *Midl. Chrs* pp.273-6; cf. *CPL* xiv pp.211-4.

<sup>77</sup> 'Et magistro Johanni Fresale de firmis terrarum de Kirkhill, ut asseritur, mortificatarum collegio de Lestalrig pro dote ejusdem, et dominus rex mandavit vocare dictum magistrum Johannem ad ostendendum fundacionem dicti collegii ad effectum allocacionis dictarum terrarum, que se extendunt annuatim ad decem libras, de dictis annis, £10.' *ER* x.332. Cf. *ibid.* pp.408-9, 494.

<sup>78</sup> *RSS* i.131; *Fasti* (revised edn), p.350. Death: *RSS* i.1469, and *Fasti* (revised edn), p.350.



been bestowed upon a namesake of his who failed to fulfil residence requirements. The bishop stipulated that the chaplainry should be in the king's presentation after his own death.<sup>79</sup>

The extent of endowment which was *not* made by James III may be gathered from the later grants by James IV. In 1511 James IV granted to the dean two acres of land next to the church – resigned by John Logan – for purposes of building houses and gardens for the dean and canons.<sup>80</sup> That accommodation had not already been built for the members of the college does not suggest that it was well established, although they could presumably have had lodgings elsewhere. James IV's next grant was almost exactly a year later. He granted £20 annual rents from the King's Wark in Leith for the maintenance of one chaplain prebendary, and mandated the abbots of Holyrood and Newbattle to incorporate eight new prebends into the college: one, the chaplainry he had just founded; a second, the bishop of Ross's chaplainry, again referred to as being in St Triduana's aisle; and six to be founded upon the rectory of Bute parish church, which was in royal patronage.<sup>81</sup>

The college was not finally incorporated until 1515, in a charter made in the name of the young James V – more truly in those of his mother and of the governor, the duke of Albany. This narrates that James was unable to found prebends before he went 'the way of all flesh', but that James IV had obtained endowments for eight prebendaries, viz. the eight described in the 1512 charter. The endowment of the college thus emerges as follows. The deanery is founded on the rectory of Lasswade parish church, with ten

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<sup>79</sup> RSS i.1539. This states that the *capellania S. Triduane* was *de novo fundata in insula S. Triduane infra ecclesiam de Lestalrig per quondam ... Johannem, episcopum Rossensem*, and was vacant *ob non residentiam Domini Johannis Fresel*; it mentions that it was in the king's presentation by the institution and constitution of the late bishop. It is to be presumed that this sir John was a kinsman of the bishop; it is noteworthy that in 1480, Master John Frissele, rector of Douglas, and sir John Frissele, provost of Abernethy, both witnessed a charter of Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus. RMS ii.1588.

<sup>80</sup> RMS ii.3656; full text in *Midl. Chrs* p.277-8. This was not a donation on Logan's part: he was to be paid 36s *per annum*.

<sup>81</sup> RMS ii.3774; *Midl. Chrs* pp.278-80. This mandate followed from faculty conferred upon the abbots in Innocent VIII's bull of 1487.

poundlands, called Kirkhill, in the parish of Strathbrock, besides a manse and garden at Restalrig (which all the prebendaries were to have). These are endowments which we know James III had provided. The first prebendary, who was apparently to be the organist and master of music, was founded on the £20 from the King's Wark granted by James IV in 1512; of this £8 was to go to two choirboys. The sacrist and five other prebendaries each had a sixth of the rectory of St Mary of Rothesay in Bute. The eighth prebendary is of particular interest. He was to be called 'the prebendary of the Aisle of St Triduana', and his income was to be £8 annual rents from the King's Wark in Leith, and £3 6s 8d from unspecified tenements in the Canongate. He also received offerings made at the 'altar and relics of St Triduana', and had responsibility for maintaining the lower aisle and the altar of St Triduana situated therein. Finally, in a last clause it is noted that John Fraser, first dean of the college and later bishop of Ross, founded a chaplainry in the church, and that James IV 'fulfilled his last will by incorporating the chaplainry into the college as a prebend, to be at the king's presentation, and to be called the 'prebend of the bishop of Ross.'

We can be sure, then, that James III had provided for the deanery, but, as the charter states, not for most of the prebends. But those last two prebends are something of a puzzle. The prebend of St Triduana looks very much as if it is founded on the endowments which James III gave to his *upper-aisle* chaplainry in 1477, although those comprised £8 from the King's Wark and £5 6s of Canongate rents – more than the figure given in 1515 – which is in fact equal to five marks, a rounder number than the original sum. But what then are the endowments of the bishop of Ross's prebend, which was earlier named as the prebend of St Triduana's aisle? The rental of the prebendaries and chaplains of Restalrig given in the Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices (1562) indicates that 'the cheplanrie of Ros' was founded on 20 marks' worth of land in the Canongate, and a list of



documents in 1576 mentions 'the tenement of the prebendaries Rossen[sis]', which was presumably this Canongate land.<sup>82</sup>

The rearranging of funds is probably not a particularly important matter in itself; that it was possible simply shows more clearly that the college was not firmly organised before this final charter. However, it does raise questions about the royal interest in Restalrig and St Triduana, and the centrality of Triduana to the new collegiate church. Why Restalrig attracted royal attention at all is far from clear. As MacDonald has argued, an interest in Triduana's relics would seem to be the most compelling explanation for such investment in a more or less obscure parish church. However, as we have seen, James III's first chaplainry there was not apparently at Triduana's altar or in her aisle, and neither was the college founded in her honour: the bull of 1487 gave the dedication of the church as being to the Trinity and the Blessed Virgin. The first surviving reference to St Triduana's aisle is in 1492,<sup>83</sup> and the next in 1496 when James IV provided 20s for a trental 'before Sanct Triduane' in Restalrig.<sup>84</sup> MacDonald makes two ingenious suggestions: one that James's mother, Mary of Gueldres, was responsible for royal devotion to Triduana because her dower-lands were in the area where Triduana is said to have been active<sup>85</sup>; and the other that the hexagonal chapel was used by the chivalric order of St Andrew. However, there is simply no evidence either for Mary's interest or for any particular commemoration of Mary at Restalrig. Recent work by Katie Stevenson also shows that James III almost certainly did not found a chivalric order.<sup>86</sup> James's plans to establish a college called a Chapel Royal seem to have become attached to Restalrig temporarily, although it is not clear that he planned the college to be a or the

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<sup>82</sup> J. Kirk, ed., *The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices: Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation*, Records of Social and Economic History, n.s. 21 (Oxford, 1995), p.143; *Midl. Chrs* p.lvi.

<sup>83</sup> *The Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515* [*Prot. Bk Young*] (SRS, 1952), no 534.

<sup>84</sup> TA i.296.

<sup>85</sup> MacDonald, 'Chapel of Restalrig', pp.40-41.

<sup>86</sup> K. Stevenson, 'The Unicorn, St Andrew and the Thistle: Was there an Order of Chivalry in late medieval Scotland?', *SHR* lxxxiii (2004), pp.3-22.

Chapel Royal as such. This also does not offer a reason as such for locating it at Restalrig. The impetus for the royal college at Restalrig therefore remains mysterious. This is not helped by James's death before he had a chance to complete his project, a recurrent trait among Stewart kings which is frankly inconvenient for the historian.

## **II. James IV and Lothian: Alms, donations and liturgy in the Treasurer's Accounts**

Of the Stewart kings, James IV is the best known for his religious practices; and in general is one of the few kings, along with David I and Robert I, whom it is possible to feel (correctly or otherwise) one can begin to know as a human being. This is partly because his reign has the most extensive records of such matters. The Treasurer's Accounts are extant for much of his reign, which allows sight of the royal presence in churches on a day-to-day basis, including James's famous pilgrimages to Tain and Whithorn. The description of Scotland by the Spanish ambassador Pedro de Ayala also offers a seductive portrait of the king and his court.<sup>87</sup> James's foundations of the collegiate church at Tain and the Chapel Royal at Stirling, besides other smaller chapels and chaplainries, are also reasonably well documented. James's defeat and death at Flodden have further encouraged attention to his crusading interests, which can be seen as an element in the mechanism of a quasi formal tragedy, ending in the flower of Scottish chivalry strewn across the field of northern England rather than the Holy Land.

In this section, James's devotional travels, donations and foundations in Lothian will be examined in some detail, primarily using the Treasurer's Accounts. The development of the Chapel Royal and the new foundation at Stirling in 1501 will be considered separately in the next section.

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<sup>87</sup> In P. Hume Brown, ed., *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1891), pp.39-41



The valuable part of the Treasurer's Accounts for this purpose is the record of payments or discharge. This includes notes of payments to the royal eleemosinar (almoner), casual alms to the poor, donations at and to churches (including specific altars, relics and lights within churches), gifts and payments to clergy, and payments for liturgical services. Until some point after July 1498 this sort of expenditure was noted among the Expenses *ad extra* in the discharge part of the accounts, but when the extant Accounts restart in 1500/01 a separate section under the heading *Elimosina Regis* or *Oblationes et elimosina Regis* is found. The Treasurer's Accounts are first extant briefly in James III's reign, in the years 1473-4. James IV's reign is the first to be recorded more extensively, although coverage is still not continuous. The Treasurer's Accounts give accounts of discharge for 4<sup>th</sup> August 1473-1<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1474 for James III, and 4<sup>th</sup> June 1488-August 1492, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1494- July 1498, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1501- 4<sup>th</sup> September 1502, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1502- 6<sup>th</sup> February 1505, 11<sup>th</sup> February 1505 – 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1506, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1506- 6<sup>th</sup> September 1507, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1507 -1<sup>st</sup> August 1508, and 10<sup>th</sup> September 1511- 8<sup>th</sup> October 1513 for James IV.<sup>88</sup>

The manner of recording expenditure upon alms and ecclesiastical matters is not uniform, and the extent of coverage represented by the Treasurer's Accounts is thus not always clear. On the whole, the accounts become more detailed as time goes on, in common with the general tendency for the government's record-keeping to become more detailed and specialised. For 1490-95, while the alms were included in the general expenses *ad extra*, it seems that the king's offerings only on major feast-days are noted. Considerably more is included for 1496-8, particularly for 1497-8, when much the same level of detail is found as in the *Elemosina* section for

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<sup>88</sup> In the following discussion, individual page references are only given for instances of particular interest. Otherwise, reference is to the Expenses *ad extra*, *Pro Ecclesia* or *Elemosina* accounts for a given period, as it appears in the TA. The page references for these are: 1488-90, TA i.88-134; 1490-91, TA i.173-85; 1492, pp.198-201; 1494-5, TA i.237-42; 1495-6, TA i.267-71; 1496-7, TA i.273-311; 1497-8, TA i.319-94; 1501-2, TA ii.69-81; 1502-5, TA ii.244-69; 1505-6, TA iii.56-77; 1506-7, TA iii.279-94; 1507-8, TA iv.34-43; 1511-12, TA iv.174-191; 1512-13, TA iv.437-9.

1501-2: both accounts usually refer to between five and fifteen days in any one month. From 1502 the accounts tend to become longer, particularly for 1511-12, referring to at least half the days in a month and sometimes nearly every day. The account for 1512-13, however, is extremely scanty. While this might reflect changing habits of the king and court, other differences between accounts suggest that one is dealing also (if not primarily) with variable bureaucratic practice. For example, payments for trentals of Masses are notably prominent in the accounts for 1496-7, 1497-8, 1501-2, 1502-5, and 1511-12, but are almost entirely absent from those for the earlier 1490s and 1505-8. The accounts for 1497-8, 1501-2, 1502-5 and 1505-6 include frequent gifts to ‘priests’ or ‘the priests’ in a given town (particularly Linlithgow), or simple grants to the almoner for distribution to ‘priests’ in no specified place. Indeed, for 1502-5, the section heading is even (uniquely), *Pro Elemosina et Presbiteris*. 1501-2 is the single year with the highest numbers: twenty-one non-specific grants and forty-five in particular places. Far fewer such grants, however, are found in the accounts after 1506 (see Table 2) – only fourteen in 1511-12, although it is in general the most detailed of all the alms accounts.

Table 2: Grants to ‘priests’ in accounts of *Elemosina Regis*.

Year	A: Grants for ‘priests’ in no specified places.	B: Grants for ‘priests’ in specified places:	Notes
1490-6	0	6	The accounts for 1490-1, 1492, 1494-5 and 1495-6 have here been added together as they are rather scanty. Of B, 4 are gifts to individual priests.
1496-7	1	5	Of B, 3 are individual priests.
1497-8	2	25	Of B, 9 are individual priests.
1501-2	21	45	
1502-5	35	55	
1505-6	3	46	Of B, 15 are for Linlithgow, one of which is for an individual priest. Of B, one is for an individual priest who sang Mass at Our Lady kirk of Kyle.
1506-7	0	21	Of B, one is for the vicar of Kilmalug.
1507-8	0	27	Of B, 18 are for Linlithgow.
1511-12	0	14	Of B, 5 are for Broun, a poor priest in Stirling; one is for an individual priest in New Haven to sing Mass for the king; one is ‘to my lord Culros priest to pray for the king’.
1512-13	1	3	

Whether these changes in the records indicate shifts in the king’s interests, changing practices of distribution via the almoner, or merely that different clerks worked at variable levels of detail, is not obvious.



Similarly, although less problematically, when a donation at a saint's altar or light is made on the relevant feast day, this correlation is sometimes but by no means always specified: one can easily note when such a donation does correspond to a relevant feast, but that the account may or may not bother to state the fact further alerts us that we are dealing, not with a chart of James IV's devotional practices, but with a record of expenditure in which the specific information was given for the purpose of identifying the payments and auditing the accounts.<sup>89</sup> This is made very clear by one entry in 1511-12, which records money 'offerit in Leith to ane uthir Sanct'<sup>90</sup>: the object of the donation may have been forgotten, but the fact that it was offered must be noted nonetheless.

That general payments to the almoner, grants specifically for the poor, and various gifts and payments in and to churches were all (eventually) placed under the heading of *Elemosina* is noteworthy. They were all the same sort of thing: 'alms-deeds', works of material charity. At the same time, however, in the Treasurer's Accounts this is not all that they are: they are here because they are items of royal expenditure, and as such the boundaries can blur. Casual gifts to paupers may also fall under the *Bursa Regis*, at least when the elemosinar was not present<sup>91</sup>; the regular payments to priests at Dunblane singing for the soul of Margaret Drummond (James IV's late mistress) moved from *Elemosina* to *Bursa Regis* between 1505-6 and 1506-7.<sup>92</sup> Sometimes payments to priests who said Mass for the king are also in this account.<sup>93</sup> Even payments that passed through the almoner's hands may find their way into *Bursa Regis* occasionally, such as 40s paid to the almoner for

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<sup>89</sup> Compare Priscilla Bawcutt's brief remarks on the TA. *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 49-50: 'They were intended for the use of contemporary auditors, not for historians and biographers centuries later.'

<sup>90</sup> January 1512, after an offering at St Anthony's light. TA iv.182.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. in April 1506, 'ridand betuix Strivelin and Glasgo, to ij pur folkis, Schir Andro being absent', 4d; in May, 'to pure folkis in Wigtoun, Schir Andro being absent', 4s 8d. TA iii.192-3. The elemosinar was thus presumably usually attendant upon the king's person.

<sup>92</sup> TA iii.56, 357.

<sup>93</sup> E.g. two payments to a priest in St Nicholas' chapel, Leith, 'that said mes to the king', 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> January 1504, TA iii.414-5.

the Greyfriars in St Andrews at the time of the burial of the archbishop of St Andrews (James IV's brother, the duke of Ross) in 1504.<sup>94</sup> Payments for cloth and altar-furnishings are more prominent among *elemosina* in 1511, whereas in 1505-6 they were in the more literally descriptive category of *Ornamenta ecclesie*.

### i. The royal almoner under James IV

The role of almoner at the Scottish court has received very little historiographical attention, and indeed there is very little to go on before the late fifteenth century. (A survey of the available evidence is offered in Appendix I.) The Treasurer's Accounts allow a somewhat clearer picture of arrangements under James IV and his long term almoner, Sir Andrew McBrek. McBrek was given a weekly sum of money to distribute to the poor; he also seems to have had the primary responsibility for many casual distributions to priests, gifts to the poor, and arrangements and payments for various liturgies. This seems to be the case even before the separation of the *Elemosina* accounts appears; and, as noted above, once the accounts become demarcated, distributions made to the poor through a different agent, 'Sir Andrew being absent', could find their way into a different part of the accounts. It is less clear whether the king's donations at Masses and gifts in churches were usually within the almoner's remit. That this was at any rate not necessarily the case is suggested by various payments to individuals, both clerical and lay, who seem to have provided cash for the king to donate upon occasion, and who were later reimbursed.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> TA ii.417. £92 18s paid to the priests for the burial was also recorded here. See also *ibid.* pp. xli-xlii.

<sup>95</sup> E.g. 14s 'payit to Lord Avendale, he laid doun to the Kingis offerand on Sanct Thomas day', 30<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1503, TA ii.257; 28s 'payit to Schir Johne Ramsay, he laid doun be command to the Gray Freris of Air', 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1504, TA ii.261; 14s 'payit to Lord Avendale, he laid doun to the Kingis offerand at the Quene of Inlandis saule mes', and 59s 'payit to Schir William Malvile that he laid doun at divers tymes to the Gray Freris of Strivelin sen the first day of August bipast, at sindry tymes', 13<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1505, TA iii.56; two sums of 14s paid to Mr William Ogilvie 'that he gaif be the kingis command to the preistis of Abirfule' and 'quhilk he laid



Sir Andrew McBrek was James IV's almoner from the beginning of his reign until some point between 1508 and 1512. The accounts give the impression that the elemosinar had a full time job: it was no court sinecure. McBrek was apparently a dedicated royal servitor, described by the king after the former's death as one *qui nobis a juventute familiariter inservierat*. The accounts suggest that the almoner was usually in attendance upon the king's person, and that he was a familiar figure at court is suggested by one of Dunbar's poems, 'Sir Ihon Sinclair begowthe to dance', where the almoner is among several court figures (including Dunbar himself) mocked as they dance:

Than cam in the maister almaser,  
An hommilty iommelte iuffler [*shuffler*]...<sup>96</sup>

McBrek was well rewarded for his services. He may have been chancellor of Dunblane in the first part of James IV's reign,<sup>97</sup> and more certainly held the provostship of Lincluden, a benefice which had a history of possession by prominent civil servants, after presentation by the king between 1504 and 1509.<sup>98</sup> After royal petition he was in 1509 provided to the abbacy of Cambuskenneth, which may well have been the point at which he ceased serving in office. He was dead by 7<sup>th</sup> April 1513.<sup>99</sup> The provision to Cambuskenneth was presumably intended to fund his retirement. The letter in which James IV informs Leo X of McBrek's death and requested that his secretary, Patrick Paniter, be provided to Cambuskenneth, may indicate that

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doun to the kingis offerand on lammes day bipast', 20<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> August 1505, TA iii.63 (Master William not infrequently made payments, not only for alms, at the king's command: see under his name in the index to TA iii. He seems to have been a familiar of James IV, as he won a horse from the king at cards (*ibid.* p.167) and was a squire to the Black Lady at the tournament of 1507 (*ibid.* p.258); 14s 'payit to Waltir Merlioun, masoun, he gaif to the kingis offerand in Sanct Gelis Kirk to Sanct Johnis lycht', 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1506, TA iii.71. The appearance of a mason in St Giles' suggests that anyone at hand might be called upon for such service (though it was surely no humble mason who had 14s in his pocket – indeed he's in the king's fee, eg TA ii.94 for 1501; Walter and John Merlioun both built 'the kingis hous of Striuelin', paid June 1496, i.278), but Lord Avandale seems to have been called upon particularly often in this function.

<sup>96</sup> P. Bawcutt, ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1998), no 70 i.233, commentary ii.459-61. See also *eadem*, *Dunbar the Makar*, pp.50-51

<sup>97</sup> *Fasti*, p.111

<sup>98</sup> *Fasti*, p.475

<sup>99</sup> *Heads of Religious Houses*, p.27.

the provision to Cambuskenneth was a mark of particular fondness or regard. It is in that letter that the king refers to McBrek as having served him familiarly from his youth; James also declares that he 'reverences [the monastery of Cambuskenneth] above all other places in his kingdom (*que nobis pre ceteris regni locis venit observanda*) because his father and mother are buried there.'<sup>100</sup> It would indeed be appropriate, in a certain sense, for the man who had so often organised commemorations for James III and Margaret of Denmark to receive income from Cambuskenneth Abbey. McBrek was also presented to the hospital of St Leonard in Haddington, similarly a suitable benefice for the almoner.<sup>101</sup>

The account for 1511-12 refers only to 'my lord Elemosinar', and that for 1512-13 refers primarily to the 'Maister Almesar' but once to Mr Patrick Coventry, Almesar.<sup>102</sup> Coventry had a substantial royal pension of £40 a year noted in the 1511-12 accounts, so had probably taken over the job by this point.<sup>103</sup>

## ii. Alms-giving and donations in Lothian

The greatest single expenditure among the alms was the regular grants to the elemosinar for distribution to the poor. This was £2 a week in 1492, £3 a week by 1494-5, and rose to £4 a week by 1511-12.<sup>104</sup> The other regular payment to the poor was annually on Skyre Thursday, when alms, clothing and food were given by the king and queen to poor men and women, of a number corresponding to their respective ages. This pattern of alms-deed in Holy Week was similar to that practised in England. Presumably the king and queen also washed the paupers' feet – a large vessel features in some accounts for this time of year – although this is not

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<sup>100</sup> *The Letters of James IV 1505-1513*, calendared by RK Hannay (SHS, 1953), no 542, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1513.

<sup>101</sup> RSS i.1710.

<sup>102</sup> TA i.106, iv.43, 174-91, 437-9.

<sup>103</sup> TA iv.267.

<sup>104</sup> TA i.205, 229; iii.174.



noted explicitly.<sup>105</sup> Casual gifts to the poor of a town and individual paupers were also frequently made as the king travelled his kingdom.

In addition to charity for the poor, the *Elemosina* accounts show that James IV was an assiduous visitor of churches and chapels, and a keen purchaser of Masses. It was the king's habit to make some kind of donation to at least the main church of almost every settlement through which he passed. The friars of a town were also usually supported. When James stayed in one place for any length of time, a circle of local chapels and shrines are noted as sites of donations. This is most notable around Edinburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow and, to a lesser extent, Falkland. The donations given were usually sums of 14s, but some places were favoured with gifts in kind. The Greyfriars of Stirling were given beer, cloth, fish, coals and wax. Several churches were helped with their altar furnishings, particularly chalices and 'Eucharists' (pyxes). As already noted, general distributions to the priests of a town were very often made. Very few monastic houses, however, seem to have received donations, and where they do it is as physical places rather than as houses of monks. That is to say that, whereas gifts to friaries were usually recorded as being to 'the friars of Stirling' or 'the Whitefriars of Aberdeen', monasteries usually appear as churches: 'in Dunfermline at the relics' or simply 'to the king's offering in Holyroodhouse.' Only rarely are there donations to 'monks' or 'canons' as such – on four occasions between 1501 and 1507.<sup>106</sup>

Liturgical services themselves appear most often in the form of trentals of Masses; sometimes these are to be said in particular places with particular dedications, at other times the elemosinar is simply instructed to have a certain number said. Later in the reign there are also occasional

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<sup>105</sup> TA i pp.ccxliv , ccxlv. James V's washing of feet is more definitely recorded. The 'pur folkis weschale' was taken to Edinburgh in 1501 (TA ii.72), vessal taken from Stirling to Edinburgh 1504, ii.260; payment for carrying of vessel from Menteith to Edinburgh, 1507, iii.289.

<sup>106</sup> 'in Culros, to monkis and preistis', June 1501, TA ii.73; 'to the monkis of Corsraguell', 19<sup>th</sup> July 1505, 'to the monkis of Drumdrana', 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1505, TA iii.62; 'to the chanons of Cambuskinneith', April 1507, TA iii.290.

references to individual priests' being employed to pray for the king, once with a specific intention: £14 'the tyme the Quene wes seik, gevin to Schir Johnne Towris to dispone to preistis and to gar say messis.'<sup>107</sup> The king's offering at various Masses for the dead are recorded regularly, particularly for James III and Margaret of Denmark, and Elizabeth of York, Margaret Tudor's mother. That 'the king's offering' at such Masses is usually mentioned presumably indicates that these were Masses personally attended by the king. The other category of Masses apparently regularly attended by the king were priests' first Masses. On some feast-days offerings at Mass are also specified, and sometimes a particular Mass (notably the Holy Blood Mass at Linlithgow and Edinburgh) is noted. Otherwise, it is not clear whether an offering at a particular church or altar indicates that the king heard Mass or simply visited.

In these detailed records of donations and distributions, the *Elemosina* accounts provide the most detailed available mapping of the king's movements. The famous pilgrimages to Whithorn and Tain can be traced clearly. Visits to Tain are recorded in July 1496, October 1497, November 1501, October 1503, October 1504, October 1505 and September 1506, and he was probably also there in August 1507; visits to Whithorn, in July 1496, September 1497, April 1498, April 1501, August 1501, April-May 1503, June 1504, July 1505, May 1506, August 1506, March 1506/7, July 1507 and March 1507/8.<sup>108</sup> It is worth noting that, apart from during the hard riding of July 1496, these pilgrimages involved stops at towns and churches along the way. Our Lady Kirk of Kyle was perhaps the most favoured of the stopping-points: it was visited three times in 1497-8, twice in 1501-2, twice in 1502-5, once in 1505-6, twice in 1506-7 and once in 1511-12; it was given money towards the making of a 'Eucharist', and money was distributed to its priests in 1497-8, 1501-2, 1502-5 and 1505-6.

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<sup>107</sup> TA iv.437

<sup>108</sup> Norman Macdougall briefly discusses these pilgrimages in *James IV*, pp.196-8. For the August 1507 appearance in Tain, see *ibid.* p.294.



While these expeditions to the extremes of the kingdom are James IV's most famous manifestation of devotional behaviour, it becomes clear from the Treasurer's Accounts that the archdeaconry of Lothian actually contained the areas where the king was most often present in the widest range of churches. There are about eighty separate places within the archdeaconry of Lothian at which the king makes offerings, and some eighty-one in the rest of the kingdom. In reaching these numbers, separate sites within churches – altars, lights and relics – are counted individually. The figures are not exact, as at times it is unclear where a certain light or altar is, or whether certain chapels should be considered separately or together. However, even given a large margin of error, it is clear that Lothian contains a very marked concentration of ecclesiastical sites which were in some sense patronised by James IV. The clearest reason for this concentration is that James IV's preferred residences were all within Lothian: Holyroodhouse, Stirling Castle and Linlithgow Palace.<sup>109</sup> The great feasts – in both the liturgical and courtly senses – of Christmas and Easter were wont to be spent in these towns. The larger number of separate places in Lothian is not, however, accounted for merely by more time spent there, or even by interest in Lothian's various royally-founded churches. What stands out is that, in the areas around these residences, James is recorded as paying visits to smaller chapels in the vicinity, making donations at a variety of altars and lights within the larger churches, and attending and requesting specific Masses in these churches. It is this more finely-grained royal attention to local ecclesiastical geography which produces the very high number of sites for Lothian, and which distinguishes the pattern of James's patronage here from that in much of the rest of the kingdom. It may be worth noting that the most closely comparable behaviour is to be found at the pilgrimage sites of Whithorn and Tain, where

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<sup>109</sup> Royal business was also concentrated in these locations, especially Edinburgh, where Macdougall notes that 1475 of 2152 documents in *RMS* for the reign were dated. Stirling and Linlithgow are second and third with 306 and 83 documents respectively. Macdougall, 'Appendix: The Itinerary of James IV', *James IV* pp.313-5.

there were within close compass a variety of churches, chapels and shrines, to each of which attention (and money) was given.<sup>110</sup>

Churches and chapels of the Edinburgh area at its broadest extent – Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Restalrig – were patronised by James IV. Holyrood Abbey, one of David I's foundations, was a significant site for the royal family; it was the burial place of James II, the place of the wedding celebrations for James IV and Margaret Tudor in 1503, and an increasingly favoured royal residence. The very poor survival of its own records, however, makes it difficult to gain a clear impression of how the relationship between Holyroodhouse as abbey and as palace functioned. The Treasurer's Accounts, with the Register of the Great Seal, shed some light on the matter, although it remains far from perfectly clear. The royal residence attached to the abbey was expanded by James IV, including a private chapel. A chaplainry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin and St Michael the Archangel 'in the new chapel within the palace next to the monastery of the Holy Cross near Edinburgh' was endowed in 1505, with 20 merks a year, but the chapel was apparently not completed by this point.<sup>111</sup> masons who constructed the high altar in the chapel of Holyroodhouse were not paid until February 1508.<sup>112</sup> The Chapel Royal at Stirling was dedicated to St Mary and St Michael; it is not quite clear whether this chapel at Holyrood was under the same patronage or just had an altar of this dedication, but in either case the repetition points to an interest in St Michael's protection on James's part. This new building means that it is not always clear whether a donation recorded at 'Holyroodhouse' refers to the chapel or to the abbey church. In 1488-90, there are donations at Holyroodhouse for Palm Sunday 1489 and 1490, and in 1505-6, four donations at Holyrood are mentioned, which might

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<sup>110</sup> E.g. in 1507: 'In Quhithorn, to the kingis offerandis at the first mes in the utir kirk, at the Rude altair, at the hie altar, and at Our Lady altar, ilk place [14]s, summa [56]s; Item, to the kingis offerand at the reliques, [18]s; Item, the [19<sup>th</sup>] day of March, to the kingis offerand to the reliques in Quhithirn, [14]s; Item, to the kingis offerand in the utir kirk quhair he herd mes, [14]s.' TA iii.287-8.

<sup>111</sup> RMS ii.2903.

<sup>112</sup> TA iv.100.



mean either. The 1506-7 account specifically mentions 'the chapel' at Holyrood on nine occasions. Where particular lights are named, however, the large, multi-altared abbey church would seem the more likely venue; seven such lights are mentioned, the Holy Blood light and Our Lady's light in 1505-6, and St Andrew's, St Duthac's, St Sebastian's, St Thomas's and the Rood lights in 1511-12. The abbey's dedication to the Holy Cross features in James's patronage of it, with funds given for a new 'figure of the Holy Rood' in 1511-12, and feasts of the Cross sometimes kept there: the Invention (3<sup>rd</sup> May) in 1505-6, and the Exaltation (14<sup>th</sup> September) in 1496, 1505-6, and 1511-12. An anniversary for James III was also apparently celebrated in Holyrood, with 'the kingis offerand at the kingis saulmes' in Holyroodhouse recorded on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1496.<sup>113</sup>

St Giles' church, Edinburgh parish church, features quite prominently in the Treasurer's Accounts. The number of donations in St Giles' varies considerably over the period, from none recorded in 1507-8 to eleven in 1505-6. The accounts for 1505-6 and 1511-12 note the highest numbers of donations, in the greatest detail.

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<sup>113</sup> TA i.278. James III died on 11<sup>th</sup> June, St Barnabas day; whether this anniversary was kept late or the payment recorded late is unknown.

Table 3: James IV's donations in St Giles', Edinburgh

EDINBURGH: ST GILES'	St Mungo's day / light	Our Lady light	Whitsun: to two breds	§ St Monan's light	Queen's soul Mass	Sundrybreds (day of Qn's soul)	St Giles' kirk work	St Giles' bred	St Giles	Holy Blood Mass	Frat emilyof Holy Blood	Holy Blood Altar	St Cat's Mass	St Jn's light	St Dulhac's light	St Anne's light	St Nicholas light	St Lucy's light	St Sebastian's light	St Margaret's light	St Peter's light	St Eloy's light	§ St Eloy's bred/day	SSt Andrew's light	First Masses	MAX. TOTAL
June 1488- May 1490	1	1	1																			15				4
Nov 1490- Feb 1491																										0
Feb—Aug 1492																								1	1	1
July 1494- Nov 1495																								1	1	1
Nov 1495- Apr 1496																										0
Apr 1496- Jan 1497																										0
Feb 1497- July 1498							1																		1	1
Feb 1501- Sept 1502					1	1	-	-	-															2	3	3
Sept 1502- Feb 1505				15 (1 <sup>st</sup> March)		-	-	3	1							1										5
Feb 1505- Aug 1506							1	1 §** (& light)	1**	1	1		1	1	1								1			11
Aug 1506- Sept 1507							-								2								1			3
Sept 1507- 1508																								1	1	1
Sept 1511- Aug 1512												1						1	1	1	1 (June)			1	§1	9
Nov 1512- Jul 1513																										0

§ Indicates uncertainty that St Giles' is the church.

\*\* Edinburgh on St Giles' day; St Giles' kirk seems most likely.



St Giles' did not function merely as a church to visit in passing. The king instead engaged with the church both as a liturgical site and as an element of burgh life. A donation was made to the 'kirk work' in 1505-6. Up to thirteen separate lights, altars and *breds* (offering boards) are mentioned (in two cases it is not quite clear whether St Giles' is the relevant church, although it is probable), more than for any other church in the Treasurer's Accounts. Five of these were mentioned on their relevant feast-days, which suggest that the king's household (or at least part of it) at times took advantage of the many altars and images in St Giles' to make liturgically appropriate visits to the burgh church. This may have involved the king's being present at craft guilds' patronal celebrations: twice the king made an offering at St Eloy's light on St Eloy's day (1<sup>st</sup> December), the patronal feast of the hammermen. In 1505-6 the king was probably present for High Mass on St Giles' day itself, and made a donation at St Giles' light; the Treasurer's Accounts do not give the location more specifically than 'Edinburgh', but St Giles' would seem the most probable church for this feast, the day when St Giles's armbone was borne in procession through the town. The king also, at least occasionally, attended particular Masses: the Holy Blood Mass and St Catherine's Mass, both noted in 1505-6. The significance of St Catherine's Mass is not obvious, but attendance at the Holy Blood Mass is connected to James IV's membership of the Holy Blood Fraternity. He was made a brother in 1505-6<sup>114</sup> and in the same year made a donation to the Fraternity and attended the Mass; a further donation to the Holy Blood altar was made in 1511-12. Unless more regular attendance at the Holy Blood Mass (which was celebrated every Wednesday<sup>115</sup>) has been omitted from the records, these entries do not indicate particular royal enthusiasm for the affairs of the Fraternity. James did nonetheless at least take up the offer of membership. St Giles' also housed the celebration of an anniversary for James IV's mother

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<sup>114</sup> TA iii.39

<sup>115</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, AD1403-1528*, (SBRs, 1869) [Edinb. Recs.], p.130.

Margaret of Denmark. A commemoration in Edinburgh is suggested by a payment made in 1491; that St Giles' was the venue is seen on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1502 when the King's offering of 14s 'in Sanct Gelis Kirk at the Quenis saule mes' is recorded. The same day the king offered 42s 'on thre sundri breddis' also in St Giles.<sup>116</sup> This soul Mass seems to be an anniversary kept on or near the date of Margaret's death, 14<sup>th</sup> July; it is also mentioned in 1502-5<sup>117</sup>, 1505-6 and 1512-13<sup>118</sup>, although it is not always clear which Mass these entries refer to – she was (unsurprisingly) commemorated in various churches in the kingdom, including in the Blackfriars' church in Edinburgh in a service founded by James III,<sup>119</sup> and, most prominently, Stirling<sup>120</sup> and Cambuskenneth<sup>121</sup> (where she had died and been buried, respectively). Who had founded the Mass in St Giles' is also not entirely clear. It is worth noting that another royal commemoration in St Giles' had been in place since 1482, when James III, granting privileges to Edinburgh in thanks for the burgh authorities' aid in extricating him from his incarceration, required in exchange an annual Requiem on 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> August for the souls of James II, James III himself and their ancestors and successors, with suffrages for the king's happy estate. James IV laid specific claim to the continuation of these suffrages when he confirmed to the burgh charters of Robert Logan of Restalrig and James III.<sup>122</sup>

The burgh kirk has been seen as a mirror and microcosm of the urban commonweal, and in important respects very rightly so. From that point of view, James's frequent if irregular appearances in and donations to St Giles' appear as royal participation in burgh life. That it was the burgh authorities

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<sup>116</sup> TA ii.80.

<sup>117</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> July 1504, TA ii.263. The king's 'modir saule mes' is all that is specified; either Edinburgh or Stirling might be the venue.

<sup>118</sup> TA i.179: 16<sup>th</sup> July 1491, Sir Andrew McBrek was paid in Edinburgh to have Mass said for the Queen. TA iv.416 for the Mass in 1513, which is noted in the *Bursa Regis* rather than *Elemosina* section.

<sup>119</sup> RMS ii.1164, 28<sup>th</sup> March 1474 [vii.287]

<sup>120</sup> E.g. 16<sup>th</sup> July 1502: TA ii.80.

<sup>121</sup> E.g. June-July 1491, TA i.178-9.

<sup>122</sup> *Edinb. Chrs* no. lxiii.



who had primary responsibility for, and control in, liturgical arrangements in the parish church had already allowed the provision of liturgy to become one of Edinburgh's concrete obligations towards her monarch. James also contributed in 1507 to the performance of liturgy in Edinburgh by allowing the burgh's annual fairs to be moved, as their conduct was obstructive to the celebration of major feasts:

Wit yhe that forsamekil as we vndirstand that Alhalow Fair quhilk is haldin at our Burgh of Edinburgh had bene in tyme bigane proclamit on Alhalow evin, and than began and sa continewit for acht dais folowand, the quhilk was the occasione and caus of violacione and breking of the halidayis that hapnis within the samyn, sic as Alhalow day, Saul mes day, and the feist of the dedicacioun of Sanct Gelis kirk of our said Burgh quhilk fallis yerlie on the thrid day of Nouember, and als ane vthere fair haldin yerlie within oure said Burgh at Trinite Sondag. We herfore in eschewing herof, and for obsering ande keping of the festiual and halidais in tyme tocum to the honour and loving of God and all Sanctis, and for the commoun profit of our said Burgh and inhabitantis tharof...

James grants that the fairs are to be begun on 4<sup>th</sup> November and the Monday after Trinity Sunday respectively.<sup>123</sup>

In thus making space for liturgical celebrations, and in appearing at and giving money to St Giles', the king was present at, or at least supported, the liturgical manifestation of the burgh community: he was taking a visible interest in the physical spaces and objects – chapels, altars, images and their lights and donation-boards – which Edinburgh's individuals and groups had provided for their church, and also in the liturgies themselves which offered the prospects of rest for the burgh's faithful departed and welfare for its living. The royal presence in the church thus looks like it could function as a kind of immaterial patronage, reinforcing the relationship between the king and one of his burghs. The literal entries into the burgh and church were the everyday events the significance of which was articulated in formal royal entries; or, if this is too schematic a formulation, they were at any rate an aspect of the practice of visible kingship at which James IV, in contrast to his father, so excelled<sup>124</sup> – though it must be noted that, given the almost complete absence of Treasurer's Accounts before 1488, it is impossible to

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.* no. lxi, 2<sup>nd</sup> Nov. 1507.

<sup>124</sup> Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.146, 304-5

assess James III's habits, and, if he was visible to his people anywhere, it was surely in Edinburgh.

What the import of these actions was perceived to be, and what the tenor of the relationship between king, court and burgh really was, however, is not so clear. As Louise Fradenburg has noted, this relationship was one of material interdependence, and might be regarded under different aspects. She offers example by commenting upon two poems by William Dunbar which treat of Edinburgh. Dunbar, one of the few late medieval Scottish poets with a substantial surviving corpus of work, was very much a court poet to James IV, writing about court personalities, royal occasions, and his own desire for recognition and reward. His *Dirige* is a mock-liturgical piece which begs James IV to return from Stirling's purgatory to the heaven of Edinburgh, 'the mirry toun'; *To the Merchantis of Edinburgh* in contrast berates Edinburgh's ruling class for a blind concentration on profit that has left the city a mirky shambles. Edinburgh may thus appear, from a courtier's-eye-view, under the guise of both the court's paradisical playground, and an economically necessary evil which has forgotten its own dependence on the presence of the court and governmental business.<sup>125</sup> Similarly, the king's visibility in the burgh's church might be considered as a gracious mark of royal benignity; as a tactful and tactical attention to a mercantile community whose support the crown required; or simply as the proper mode of royal behaviour in the most important royal burgh, especially given the kirk's position between Castle and Abbey. The former two suggestions, indeed, are essentially ways of construing the latter. St Giles' provostry was in royal patronage, and went in 1503 to the poet Gavin Douglas, a favoured client of James IV's.<sup>126</sup> The king's presence exercised and displayed his rights. From the burgesses' point of view, on the other hand, the king's presence was perhaps at times taken for granted, and his involvement in burgh liturgical

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<sup>125</sup> L.O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, 1991), pp.7-8, 12-19. Cf Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar*, pp. 43-7.

<sup>126</sup> Macdougall, *James IV*, p.284.



life was in a sense a privilege bestowed on the king. In the case of the Holy Blood Fraternity and Mass, at least, we may assume that the king was invited to join by the members. Edinburgh after all had a unique status among Scottish burghs, inasmuch as its provost had been granted the sheriff's authority within the burgh by James III.<sup>127</sup>

Further small chapels and churches in and around Edinburgh and Canongate were also patronised. St Anthony's chapel on the crag, very close to Holyrood Abbey, was frequently visited, certainly after 1500; one donation was made there in 1496, one in 1498, and between two and eight in every recorded year between 1501 and 1512.<sup>128</sup> Another small chapel which received a similar level of royal attention was St Catherine's at Liberton, of the balm well or 'oily well' as the vernacular sources usually term it. The accounts between 1502 and 1508 show three donations in 1502-5, five in 1505-6, six in 1506-7, and three in 1507-8. St Catherine's and St Anthony's were both the subjects of supplications to the pope requesting indulgences to be available to those who contributed to their repair.<sup>129</sup> There is thus some indication that the king was following the crowd in patronising these chapels. Hospitals and almshouses were only rarely visited, it seems. There is one gift to 'St Paul's' hospital work in 1489, the hospital refounded by the abbot of Holyrood in 1469<sup>130</sup>; there were two gifts to the almshouse in St Mary's Wynd, one to the 'bedrillis' in 1502-5, and one to the 'poor folk' there in 1505-6.<sup>131</sup> Other than this, distributions to the poor and sick were made in passing, as individuals approached the king, and, more extensively, through the regular funds given to the eleemosinar.

Several churches and chapels in Leith, Restalrig and Newhaven received multiple donations from James IV (Table 4). Restalrig in particular was an object of very frequent casual alms-giving between 1505 and 1512,

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<sup>127</sup> *RMS* ii.1526.

<sup>128</sup> Two donations 1501-2, nine 1502-5, seven 1505-6, five 1506-7, three 1507-8, eight 1511-12.

<sup>129</sup> *CSSR* i.186, *CSSR* ii.122. See Chapter Six for further discussion of these chapels.

<sup>130</sup> *MRHS* p.179.

<sup>131</sup> This was probably a hospital founded by the town council in 1438, although Cowan and Easson question this. *CSSR* iv.468, *MRHS* p.175.

with over twenty donations recorded there in every year of the accounts. (1488-90: 2; 1496-7: 3 (+2 trentals); 1497-8: 2 (+2 to priests); 1501-2: 7 (+1 to priests, and 3 trentals); 1502-5: 1 (+5 to priests); 1505-6: 24 (+1 to priests); 1506-7: up to 46; 1507-8: 33; 1511-12: 27; 1512-13: 1.) James IV was continuing his father's work in building the collegiate church next to the parish church, and endowing the collegiate foundation to a sustainable level.

The smaller chapels around Leith were St Anthony's preceptory, St Ninian's at the bridge-end in north Leith, St Nicholas' chapel, and the new quasi-parochial church of Leith, built in the 1480s. In Newhaven, the king visited the new church of Our Lady of Grace. He also contributed largely to its construction,<sup>132</sup> and funded two chalices for it, an important contribution to its most vital function and no doubt one which would require commemoration in prayer for its donor.

Two of these places had particular relevance for James IV and the Stewart kings. St Anthony's preceptory had long-standing associations with the royal family; as already mentioned, James I supported its foundation and was enrolled in its confraternity, while the royal arms were featured upon its seal. St Ninian's had been founded by Abbot Robert Ballantyne of Holyrood in 1493, in the part of Leith which pertained to Holyrood Abbey, for the benefit of (among others) James III and Margaret of Denmark, James IV, and their ancestors and successors. Its two chaplains were bound to say daily Masses in the morning, exhorting the people at the beginning to say a *Pater* and an *Ave* for the named souls, while on Fridays they were to say Matins and Lauds of the dead and a Requiem Mass on Mondays.<sup>133</sup>

It is striking that royal donations in Leith are markedly more frequent after 1502. In part this probably reflects the less detailed nature of the earlier accounts. However, it should also be noted that this increase correlates with the dramatic rise in spending upon the ships which were among James's

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<sup>132</sup> In the fabric accounts for 1506-7, TA iii.295.

<sup>133</sup> *Holyrood Lib.* App. II no. 24.



greatest passions.<sup>134</sup> It seems more than likely that James's presence at chapels around the port was a result of his ever-growing interest in its shipping and ship-building. James also (and wisely) besought divine help for his maritime ventures. It is perhaps significant that one donation to Our Lady of Restalrig was made as the king's ship returned ('the kingis offerand in the schip cumand hame to Our Lady of Lestalrig'<sup>135</sup>) from Fife at the beginning of August 1506. At least one ship had Mass celebrated on board, to go by a payment on 16<sup>th</sup> September 1512 for 'the first mes singing in the kingis litill bark callit Gabriell.'<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Macdougall, *James IV*, p.228.

<sup>135</sup> TA iii.77. On 1<sup>st</sup> August the king had been to Crail, where he had given money to the Rood altar and its priest, and requested six trentals (*ibid.* pp.77, 208: curiously the donation to the altar is in *Elemosina* and that to the priest in *Bursa regis*); then to the island of May (where 5s 4d had gone to the hermit, *ibid.* p.208). The king apparently returned to Leith from May by boat via Kinghorn (*ibid.* p.208).

<sup>136</sup> TA iv.377 .

Table 4: James IV's donations in Leith, Restalrig and Newhaven (for trentals in any of these places, see Table 7: Trentals).

	Leith	Priests in Leith	Leith: New kirk	Leith: St Nicholas'	Priest in St Nicholas' light	Leith? St Nicholas' light	Leith: St Anthony's	Leith, 'St Anthony's light'	Leith: St Ninian's	A pardoner in Leith	New Haven chapel	New Haven: St Leonard's light	New Haven: Our Lady light	Restalrig	Priests in Restalrig	'Our Lady of Restalrig'	Our Lady light, Restalrig	'Rude chapel between Restalrig and Leith'
1488-90														2				
1496-7														4				
1497-8			1						1					2	2			
Feb 1501-Sept 1502		-	-	-			-							7	1			
Sept 1502-Feb 1505		2	1	2	2*		2							1	5			
Feb 1505-Aug 1506		1		7			6		1					24	1	1 (as ship returns)		
Aug 1506-Sept 1507		-		4			1		1		1 (for chalice)			41 + 5	-			(cf TA iii.371)
Sept 1507-1508		-		5				1						33	-			1
Sept 1511-Aug 1512	2	-	1 ('Our Lady Kirk')	4†		1		1	5 1 (poor folk there)	1	4 1 (silver chalice)	1	5	27†	-	1	3	
Nov 1512-Jul 1513		-	1				1							1	-			

\* In the *Bursa regis* account, 1502-5 (Jan. 1504), TA iii.414-5. The offerings in St Nicholas' recorded in the *Elemosina* accounts are March and May (or earlier) 1504, *ibid.* pp.258, 260.

† St Nicholas's day, to St Nicholas's bp of Leith. (NB Leith and Edinburgh have separate St Nicholas's bishops.)



Linlithgow parish church was also frequented by James IV, although he also built a new chapel of his own as part of his expansion of Linlithgow Palace. As in Edinburgh he seems to have participated to some extent in burghal parish life, indeed apparently to a somewhat greater degree than in Edinburgh. (See Table 5.) He was present at Holy Blood Masses several times a year between 1501 and 1507, and also attended the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus in two years and that of the Holy Spirit in one. Seven different lights are mentioned as receiving royal donations, three of which – the Trinity light, St Michael's and St John the Baptist's – were patronised on the relevant feast days. That the parish church is only yards from the palace is a simple but significant factor which probably encouraged this. The Holy Blood Mass at Linlithgow attracted the king's particular attention, for in August 1507 he presented for it a set of vestments made from his old gowns. This is particularly interesting for, while the custom of turning fine clothes into vestments (which brought with them an intrinsic reminder to commemorate the donor) is well documented elsewhere, this is the only record of such a gift by a Scottish king.

Table 5: James IV's donations in Linlithgow

	Linlithgow	Linlithgow: St Michael's Work	Linlithgow: (palace) chapel	Linlithgow: Holy Blood Mass	Linlithgow: Name of Jesus Mass	Linlithgow: Holy Spirit Mass	Linlithgow: Trinity light	Linlithgow: St Michael's light / bred	Linlithgow: St George's light	Linlithgow: St John the Baptist's light	Linlithgow: St Sythe's bred	Linlithgow: St Eloy's light	Linlithgow: Priests	Linlithgow: Poor and sick	St Ninian's chapel, Linlithgow
1488-90		1	1*					1†					1 (to the priest that keeps the choir)		
1490-91													1□		
1491-92	1*						1†						1□		
1496-7	25													4	
1497-8	1°												2	4	
													1 (to 5 priests that said Mass for the king)		
Feb 1501-Sept 1502				3	1	.					.				
Sept 1502-Feb 1505				3	.	1					1				
Feb 1505-Aug 1506	4			3											
Aug 1506-Sept 1507	4			3**	1										
Sept 1507 – Aug 1508															1
Sept 1511-Aug 1512	1							1	1	1 (day/Mass)		1			
Nov 1512-Jul 1513															

\* On Easter morning, when king took Sacrament.

† On Christmas day 1490.

‡ On Trinity Sunday 1492.

§ One for the bell; one for St Nicholas' bishop.

° The king's offering on St Catherine of Alexandria's day.

□ For priests who said James III's soul Mass.

\*\* Aug. 1507: King presents chasuble and tunicles made from king's old gowns.



In Stirling, the Chapel Royal in the Castle was James's major project, but in its vicinity St *Mauwarokkis* church, St James's chapel, St Ninian's chapel, the Bannockburn chapel, and St Roche's chapel at the bridge-end were all recipients of multiple donations (Table 6). The Bannockburn chapel was home to a hermit in 1497,<sup>137</sup> who may or may not be identical with the priest to whom the king gave donations, including money for a Missal for the chapel.<sup>138</sup>

Some locations received more than casual donations. James founded a double chaplainry in St Ninian's parish church near Stirling in May 1500.<sup>139</sup> He maintained services in 'the old church within the castle of Stirling', granting 20 merks' annual rent and an acre of land for this purpose in July 1504.<sup>140</sup> St Roche's chapel was James's own foundation, founded in 1502. Payment for fifteen ells of linen for this chapel is recorded in July 1502 among the accounts of expenditure upon goods bought *Pro Ecclesia* (mostly for the Chapel Royal) in 1501-2; and it was quite generously endowed by a charter of 4<sup>th</sup> December 1502, which provided eight acres of land nearby and 15 merks' annual rent from lands in Menteith, for sustentation of one chaplain and daily Mass.<sup>141</sup> This chapel, dedicated to the popular patron of plague-sufferers, looks like a response to the outbreaks of plague and venereal disease afflicting eastern Scotland at this time. The sick of Stirling had been regular recipients of James's charity, recorded since 1496, particularly those at the 'toun end'; the *grantgor*, venereal disease, is mentioned, in 1498.<sup>142</sup>

Cambuskenneth Abbey by Stirling was supported more than any other monastic houses excepting Holyrood and Whithorn; and requests for

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<sup>137</sup> TA i.336, May 1497.

<sup>138</sup> Money to priest in 1505-6. Money for a Missal in 1506-7, and a further donation in 1507-8.

<sup>139</sup> RMS ii.2536.

<sup>140</sup> RMS ii.2796.

<sup>141</sup> RMS ii.2678. TA ii.68.

<sup>142</sup> Alms to sick folk in Stirling: July 1496, Aug 1497 (toun end), Feb 1498 (toun end, *grantgor*), 1502-5 (chalder of meal given). After 1501 the accounts do not tend to mention sick folk in certain places as specifically as for 1496-7 and 1497-8.

Masses for James IV were made of the canons of Cambuskenneth more often than of the convent of any other monastic house. They were to say Mass for the king in May 1497, three trentals in August 1497, and simply Masses again in November 1504.<sup>143</sup> Cambuskenneth also once apparently provided the service of writing books for the Greyfriars of Stirling – the Observant Franciscans – for which James paid, although one wonders whether this might be a mistake for Culross, which more often did this work.<sup>144</sup> The main reason for royal patronage, however, was presumably that James III and Margaret of Denmark were buried there. Even this, however, did not necessarily mean the monastic house as such was patronised. It was a secular priest who was employed to sing for their souls: Sir Thomas Marischal (dead by April 1510) and later Sir James Inglis are recorded in this capacity, and received twenty merks annually for their ‘suffrage and service.’ This chaplainry was at the Lady altar in the abbey church (possibly the parochial altar in the nave).<sup>145</sup>

Apart from this chaplainry, James appended the welfare of his parents’ souls as an intention when he confirmed to the Abbey the possession of the rectory and vicarage of Kippen parish church (Dunblane diocese) in 1496, a grant originally made by Walter earl of Menteith for the good of *his* parents’ souls in the thirteenth century, but which had apparently lapsed in some manner. In the end, this grant proved problematic; a dispute with the bishops of Dunblane left Cambuskenneth with the rectory at the

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<sup>143</sup> TA i.354, 336; ii.266-7 (14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1504, ‘to the chanonis of Cambuskinneth, be the Kingis command, to say messis’, £4).

<sup>144</sup> TA ii.68 (March 1502.) Cf *Elemosina* accounts for 1502-5, *passim*.

<sup>145</sup> Ten marks a term (20 mks annually) was paid: Sir Thomas *Merschell* ‘that sings for the king and queen in Cambuskenneth’ received this stipend for the Martinmas terms of 1488 and 1489: TA i.102, 129. His employment was perhaps the fruit of a payment of £13 13s on 26<sup>th</sup> July 1488 to Mr David Abercromby to pay for ‘an obytt and a prest to sing for the Qwenis sawle’, TA i.90. A ‘prest of Cambuskynnell [Cambuskenneth] that singis for the Qwene’ was paid £5 in June 1491, TA i.178. The service was given to Sir James Inglis in April 1510, after Marshall’s death: RSS i.2040. A stipend for ‘Sir James Inglis that sings in Cambuskenneth for the King and Queen last deceased’ appears among the *Stipendia Operatorum* for 1512-13, TA iv.443.



cost of a pension payable to the bishop. James’s use of the opportunity to contribute to his parents’ good nonetheless remains noteworthy.<sup>146</sup>

When references simply to ‘Stirling’ appear, it is not always clear whether the parish church, the old castle chapel or the Chapel Royal is intended.

Table 6: James IV’s donations in Stirling

STIRLING	Stirling	Stirling: St Michael's light	Stirling: St Salvador's light	Stirling Castle	King's Chapel, Stirling	FIRST MASSES	PRIESTS	TOTAL
1488-90						1		1
1490-91								0
1492								0
1494-5								0
1495-6	1 (Pasch)							1
1496-7							2	2
1497-8	1 ('Stirling chapel')						3	4
Feb 1501- Sept 1502	1(Whitsun) 1 (St Ninian's bone)					1	1	4
Sept 1502-Feb 1505	1						4	5
Feb 1505-Aug 1506	1			1			-	2
Aug 1506- Sept 1507	1 1 (feast of ded'n of kirk)*						1	3
Sept 1507 –Aug 1508	4 1 (feast of ded'n of kirk)*						2	7
Sept 1511-Aug 1512		1	1		2	1	-	5
Nov 1512-July 1513							-	

\* Uncertain whether parish church or Chapel Royal.

There is in any case no doubt which held his interest; the endowment of a collegiate Chapel Royal at Stirling, along with the rebuilding of the chapel and castle, was James’s own project, which was, as will be discussed, an original departure for the Scottish crown and Church. The outlay on material for vestments, utensils, decoration and books in 1501-2 – almost, though not quite, all for Stirling – along with the college’s stipends, exceeded the total for alms over the same period.<sup>147</sup> In contrast to Edinburgh and Linlithgow, however, there is little indication of engagement with burgh parochial life, with only two lights possibly in the parish church receiving one donation apiece in 1511-12.

iii. Masses for the king and the king at Mass

<sup>146</sup> *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth AD1147-1535*, Grampian Club (Edinburgh, 1872) [*Cambusk. Reg.*] nos 129-131.

<sup>147</sup> *TA* ii.69, 81.

The *Elemosina* accounts do not speak only of royal giving, whether to churches, clergy or the poor. As certain payments already mentioned make clear, such as those for James's parents' anniversaries, a significant category of this giving required a return in the form of liturgical prayer. Whether the many distributions of alms to priests were accompanied by explicit requests for prayers or Masses is not recorded, although it is probable that there was some expectation of a response in kind. There are, however, sufficient specific requirements to give the very strong impression - hesitant as one is to venture anything about James's private opinions - not only that James was very keen to benefit from intercessory liturgy, but also that he took a marked interest in the form of liturgy offered. This is suggested by both the large numbers of Masses requested, and, more suggestively, the wide and irregular variety of particular requests.

A single entry in the Treasurer's Accounts is revealing of the concrete value laid upon the offering of liturgy: a payment of 4<sup>th</sup> December 1496 to 'a poor man that had Mass said for the king before St Duthac.'<sup>148</sup> The procurement of liturgy for the king was a service pleasing enough to merit material reward. There is also one clear instance of Masses requested for a specific cause: when the queen was ill in 1512.<sup>149</sup> The accounts of 1511-12 have a particular tendency to record gifts to priests as being explicitly for prayers: 'to my lord Culros priest to pray for the king'; to a priest of Newhaven to say Mass for the king and pray for him. Meanwhile, an informed interest in the kind of liturgy offered is suggested by a record of 20<sup>th</sup> October 1496, where 42s 8d (thirty-two weeks at 16d a week) was paid to Sir Andrew McBrek to have Mass of St Duthac said every Wednesday, and Mass of Our Lady every Saturday, between Pasch and Martinmas.<sup>150</sup> This is the only such request - for particular Masses over a limited period - noted in

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<sup>148</sup> TA i.307.

<sup>149</sup> TA iv.437

<sup>150</sup> TA i.303.



the Treasurer’s Accounts. There is no clear occasion for these liturgies, but the king’s devotion to St Duthac is evident in the request, particularly as it is not connected with a particular pilgrimage to Duthac’s relics (he was at Tain for neither Easter, October nor Martinmas 1496).<sup>151</sup>

The exercise of informed choice in the liturgy is particularly marked with regard to the many trentals of Masses (thirty Masses offered within a short space of time) for which payment is recorded (see Table 7).

Table 7: Trentals in the Treasurer’s Accounts.

PLACE / YEAR	1496-7	1497-8	1501-2	1502-5	1505-6	1511-12	1512 -13	TOTAL
Place unspecified/ unknown	3 trentals for king, 27 <sup>th</sup> June 1496.  Trental for king, All Saints’ 1496	Trental of St George. 23 <sup>rd</sup> April 1497.  Trental of St Ninian. 25 <sup>th</sup> April 1497.	A trental. 9 <sup>th</sup> Feb. 1501  A trental (Sir Robt Rankin), 17 <sup>th</sup> Jan. 1502.	Trental of St Paul; 25 <sup>th</sup> Jan. 1503.  3 trentals of Our Lady; 3 trentals of St Blaise: 3 <sup>rd</sup> Feb, 1503.  Trental of St Mary; trental of St Blaise; trental of St Triduana: 16 <sup>th</sup> Feb. 1503.  5 trentals, 1 <sup>st</sup> Aug. 1504.		136 [?]  4 trentals of St Barbara, 4 <sup>th</sup> Dec. 1511.  5 trentals of the Assumption; trental of St Roche: 15 <sup>th</sup> Aug. 1512.		136 + 33
Restalrig	Trental for king before Our Lady; trental before St Triduana. 14 <sup>th</sup> Sept. 1496.		3 trentals of Our Lady; trental of St Triduana; trental of St Anthony: 13 <sup>th</sup> Aug. 1501					5
Stirling	Trental for king. 25 <sup>th</sup> June 1496.		Trental of the Cross, 8 <sup>th</sup> April [Cena Dni] 1501.  Trental of St Mary; trental of Cross; trental of Requiem Masses: 21 <sup>st</sup> Sept. 1501.  Trental, 24 <sup>th</sup> Feb. 1502.			10 6		22
Perth		3 trentals for king, 23 <sup>rd</sup> March 1497						3
Aberdeen, St Nicholas’		Trental of St Sebastian for king, March 1497.						1
Linlithgow		2 trentals of St Duthac. 20 <sup>th</sup> May 1497.	Trental of St Patrick, 17 <sup>th</sup> March 1501  Trental of Our Lady; trental of St Michael: 4 <sup>th</sup> July 1502.			3 2 Trental of Our Lady; trental of All Saints; trental of St Michael. 2 3 4		22
Dunbar		Trental of St Bay. 23 <sup>rd</sup> May 1497.						1
Whitekirk		3 Trentals. 23 <sup>rd</sup>						3

<sup>151</sup> Given that 20<sup>th</sup> October is much closer to Martinmas than to Easter, this payment was probably retrospective.

		May 1497.						
Leith, St Ninian's		Trental of for king, 8 <sup>th</sup> June 1497.						1
Cambuskenneth		3 trentals for king, 27 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1497.				7		10
Whithorn		10 trentals for king, 1 <sup>st</sup> Sept. 1497.						10
Our Lady Kirk of Kyle		5 trentals for king, Sept. 1497  Trental for king, 4 <sup>th</sup> April 1498.	Trental, 22 <sup>nd</sup> Feb. 1501					7
Ayr		Trental of St John for king, Sept 1497.				5		6
Glasgow		3 trentals for king, Sept. 1497.				3 3		9
Fintray		Trental for king, 8 <sup>th</sup> Jan. 1498.						1
Dunbarton		3 trentals, 9 <sup>th</sup> May 1498.				3 trentals of Our Lady.		6
Falkland			Trental for king, (Sir Thos Balfour), 22 <sup>nd</sup> June 1502.	Trental of St Blaise, 12 <sup>th</sup> July 1504.				2
May				3 trentals, 3 <sup>rd</sup> June 1504.				3
Anstruther				Trental of St Nicholas, 3 <sup>rd</sup> June 1504.				1
Crail					6 trentals,.			6
Culross						Trental of Our Lady; trental of St Gabriel; trental of St Mungo; trental of Holy Spirit.		4
Inchcolm						4		4
St Andrews						5		5
Falkirk						1		1
Hamilton						Trental of Our Lady; trental of Holy Spirit; trental of St Julian; trental of St Nicholas.		4
Aberlady						2		2
Dunfermline							2	2
TOTAL (Number of named locations)	7	40	15	20	6	136 + 79	2	136
Number of named trentals	(2)	(13)	(5)	(3)	(1)	(12)	(1)	+169 (26)
	2	7	12	12	0	24	0	57

NB: None recorded in 1488-96, 1504-5, 1507-8.

As noted earlier, one cannot be sure whether the complete absence of trentals from the accounts for certain years really indicates a reduced interest on James's part, or is simply a function of more minimal accounting style. The latter is certainly possible, and seems rather likely for 1488-96, where the accounts, incorporated in the Expenses *ad extra*, are not very detailed at all. Similarly the very large numbers recorded for 1511-12 are probably not unconnected to the generally high level of detail in the accounts for these years.



A significant proportion of the trentals requested were named as consisting of a particular votive Mass – slightly over a third of those specifically requested (that is, apart from the very large numbers required of the almoner at no particular place), or nearly a fifth of the total all told. On seven occasions there were relevant to the day when they were asked for, such as the trental of St George on St George's day 1497, the trental of the Cross on Maundy Thursday 1508, and the trentals of St Barbara on her feast in December 1511. At other times, on at least seven occasions, the dedication is clearly determined by location: thus trentals of St Michael in Linlithgow in 1502 and 1511, of St Bae in Dunbar, and St John in Ayr, all the dedications of the respective parish churches. This reference to St Bae is one of very few to the cult of this saint at Dunbar (or anywhere), and it is a useful indication that there was liturgical commemoration of Dunbar's dedicatee before the Aberdeen Breviary – which is indeed as one would expect, but in most cases one has no direct evidence to confirm the presumption. A trental of St Kentigern (known colloquially as St Mungo) at Culross may have been requested for Mungo's chapel at Culross; Culross was in any case the legendary site of Kentigern's childhood. Trentals of St Triduana in Restalrig reflect the presence of that saint's relics there. The phrasing of the account for 1496-7 – trentals 'before Our Lady' and 'before St Triduana' – suggests that celebrations at these particular altars in the church are being requested. The three requests for trentals of St Triduana – two in Restalrig, one in no named location but quite possibly intended for Restalrig – confirm James's marked personal interest in Triduana and the new church which enshrined her. Three requests for trentals of St Blaise, only one of which is on his feast day, may suggest something of a devotion to this saint on James's part.

The request for on 15<sup>th</sup> August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, 1512, shows sensitivity to the celestial hierarchy: five trentals of the Assumption (the Virgin is, after all, Queen of Heaven and Earth), and only one of Roche, whose feast was the following day, a rather lesser saint (but a saint nonetheless). It is not surprising that the combinations of named

trentals always include the Virgin, the saint of saints, albeit not usually with the numerical *hyperdulia* offered at the Assumption. The four trentals requested at Culross in 1511 are a particularly interesting group: trentals of Our Lady, Gabriel, St Kentigern and the Holy Spirit. Kentigern, as already noted, is of local interest; the other three taken together are suggestive of the Annunciation, and thus of the liturgical devotions to particular mysteries of Mary's life which were increasingly popular in the early sixteenth century. (They were not, however, for the feast of the Annunciation, being requested in October.)<sup>152</sup>

The presence of liturgy in court life itself is visible in the records of James IV's offerings, and thus, apparently, presence at, the first Masses celebrated by various clerks. The accounts indicate that the king patronised first Masses relatively often. The names of the celebrants are not all recorded. Some appear simply as 'a friar in Stirling' or 'a priest in St Giles.' On several occasions such Masses occur shortly after a major feast, and it looks as if the king's presence there is part of the largesse which accompanied such celebrations. Where he is named, however, the priest celebrating his first Mass slightly more often than not had further connections to king and court. Of twenty named priests, thirteen can be placed in this category. Six were, at some point in their careers, clerks of the Chapel Royal in Stirling, while one, Mr Alexander Ramsay, was a chaplain of the old chapel in Stirling Castle.<sup>153</sup> (There is also a note in 1512 of 'the prebendaris first mise of Striveling', without naming the prebendary in question.) Three priests, Mr Edward Sinclair, Mr David Douglas and Sir Thomas Richardson (also a clerk of the

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<sup>152</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> October 1511: TA iv.176. On new liturgical commemorations of the Blessed Virgin, see R.W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), Ch. 2 and pp.97-115. On the wider use of mysteries of the Virgin's life in Rosary-type devotions, see also Katarzyna Zalewska, '"Corona beatissime Virginis Marie": Das mittelalterliche gemalte Marientrakat aus der Berhardinerkirche in Breslau', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* lv (1992).

<sup>153</sup> Sir John Crawford, Sir Ninian Spottiswood, Sir John Goldsmith, chaplains of the Chapel in 1501, TA ii.64, 94, 95; Sir William Ayton, presented to a canonry in the Chapel Royal in February 1507, RSS i.141; Sir James Silver, president within the college of the Chapel by October 1507, RSS i.1560; Sir Thomas Richardson held the prebend of Ayr *tertia* before his death in 1515, RSS i.2635; Mr Alexander Ramsay, among three chaplains celebrating in the old church in Stirling Castle by 1505, e.g. ER xii.324.



Chapel Royal) acquired other benefices at James IV's presentation. Interestingly, Richardson held, beside his prebend, the chaplainry of St Anthony on the Rock, near Holyrood, a site often visited by the king.<sup>154</sup> Six priests (including one who was also a clerk of the Chapel, and Mr Edward Sinclair) are recorded as receiving payments of various sorts from royal funds. Sir James Silver was granted the generous pension of £40 per year until his prebend in the college of the Chapel was erected into an archdeanery.<sup>155</sup> Mr Edward Sinclair was given payment and a horse for going to France on the king's business.<sup>156</sup> Mr Alexander Lesley was once charged with distributing money to the poor, 'Schir Andro Makbrek being absent.'<sup>157</sup> Mr William Dunbar, the poet, was granted a pension of £10 per annum.<sup>158</sup> Sir James Gorthy, more modestly, was granted 28s with which to buy a porteous (breviary), but later, in 1507, was furnished with clothing and appears to be a royal chaplain.<sup>159</sup> Mr Robert Shaw was given various payments, and was bought six ells of scarlet cloth for the royal wedding; he was a physician, as he supplied a recipe for which supplies were bought from an apothecary, and elsewhere is recorded as a Bachelor of Medicine of Paris. Like Sir Andrew McBrek, Shaw was notorious enough at court to warrant mockery by Dunbar:

Than cam in maister Robert Schau:  
He leuket as he culd lern tham a,  
Bot ay his an futt did wawer...<sup>160</sup>

Besides these six, Mr Robert Hamilton eventually, under James V in 1529, became 'clerk of our soverane lordis expenss.'<sup>161</sup> Apart from perhaps Douglas, then, all these priests functioned as royal servitors in various

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<sup>154</sup> RSS i.905, 1011, 2634. Why St Anthony's chapel was on this occasion in royal patronage is not clear.

<sup>155</sup> RSS i.1560.

<sup>156</sup> TA ii.114.

<sup>157</sup> TA ii.415

<sup>158</sup> RRS i.563, TA ii.92, 95

<sup>159</sup> TA ii.365, 400; iv.57.

<sup>160</sup> TA ii.137, 313, 445, lxxv; Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar*, p.52; *eadem*, ed., *Poems of William Dunbar*, no 70, i.233.

<sup>161</sup> RSS i.4116.

capacities. The king's patronage of their first Masses looks like an aspect of decent generosity towards household members and other clients, particularly when it was through royal patronage that the clerk in question held the benefice which was technically necessary before ordination was possible. That attendance at such events might be a form of courtesy or largesse to other persons attached to king or court is perhaps indicated by the king's patronage of a few first Masses of priests designated by their relationship to others: 'the comptroller's cousin', 'Sir Thomas Tod's son', 'Giles Farquhar's son'. Sir Thomas Tod was a knight who had risen from the Edinburgh bourgeoisie in administrative and diplomatic service to James IV.<sup>162</sup> Although Tod's progeny did not continue to enjoy knightly status,<sup>163</sup> James IV's patronage of his son may have been part of royal support of a faithful servitor's family after the latter's death. Tod's widow was also aided by the king.<sup>164</sup> Again, patronage of these Masses looks like a feature of James's 'accessibility to people of all sorts', as Priscilla Bawcutt puts it, which was so successful a feature of his kingship.<sup>165</sup>

### III. The Chapel Royal of Scotland to the time of James IV

To return to more solid matters, we at last come to James's major ecclesiastical project, the Chapel Royal. Before looking at the Stirling foundation of 1501, however, its pre-history requires examination: James IV's innovation is only clear in light of the chapel royal's previous development. *Capella regia*, 'chapel royal', and *capella regis*, 'king's chapel', are terms which denote two things. On the one hand they may denote royal clerical staff, encompassing both primarily administrative and primarily liturgical functionaries. On the other they may mean a church or chapel belonging to

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<sup>162</sup> Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), p.16.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>164</sup> ER xii.265, TA ii.375.

<sup>165</sup> Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar*, p.81. Macdougall, *James IV*, pp.303, 308.



the king in some sense, possibly with particular responsibilities towards the king and court, almost certainly in some sort of privileged position of having rights or liberties. On the whole *capella regia* is more likely to be used for the latter than is *capella regis*, but usage (in Scottish sources, at least) is not entirely consistent. In the following discussion, the English phrase 'chapel royal' is used generally without intending to imply either Latin usage particularly.

Arrangements for clerical provision at the Scottish court before James IV's reign are very thinly documented as far as liturgy and cure of souls are concerned. (Indeed, the organisation of writing staff is not very well documented, although the detailed studies of the various *Regesta Regum Scottorum* editors are illuminating.) The discussion here will therefore begin by turning to the neighbouring kingdoms of England and France, to point out some usages and arrangements which are worth bearing in mind when we turn to the fragmentary Scottish evidence. First 'chapels royal' are considered in the sense of individual churches with a privileged relationship with the crown. Such a church did not necessarily have any unique responsibility for cure of royal souls; it was simply in royal patronage, and possibly free from local ordinary (episcopal) jurisdiction. Such chapels royal seem to have been far more common in France and England than in Scotland.<sup>166</sup> They could range from a one-priest chapel to a large secular college. Three types can be noted. Firstly, in England there were collegiate churches free of ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction, known reasonably consistently by the end of the thirteenth century as royal free chapels. J.H. Denton's study of these cites Bracton's comments that *capella*, which usually indicates a subordinate church, can sometimes mean quite the opposite, 'ut si sit capella domini regis quae nulli subiecta est ecclesiae nec ad aliquam pertinent, sed ecclesia poterit esse pertinens ad capellam talem'.<sup>167</sup> Secondly,

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<sup>166</sup> J.H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300: A Constitutional Study* (Manchester, 1970), p.5-6.

<sup>167</sup> Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels*, pp.9-14, quotation at p.13.

in France there were many churches and chapels, including many collegiate churches, which were not called chapels royal, but wherein the king had peculiar authority. He was not only patron but also had the power of plenary collation (collation *pleno jure*): the right to confer benefices without any permission at all from ecclesiastical authorities – including the ability to confer expectative graces and judge between conflicting claims to benefices.<sup>168</sup> This situation primarily reflects the peculiar situation of the French Church and monarchy, rather than indicating that the churches involved were in themselves institutionally distinctive. Nonetheless, this instance of royal ecclesiastical power is an interesting one; no few Scottish churchmen must have been aware of it. Thirdly, the principal chapel royal in France was the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris, which was the model for a subset of chapels called *saintes chapelles*. These were not, however, necessarily royal foundations. Claudine Billot in a helpful discussion has defined a sainte-chapelle as having five characteristics: it was the chapel of a palace or castle; it was founded by St Louis or a king or prince of his line; it was built on the same architectural lines as the Sainte-Chapelle; it held a Passion relic; and it followed the model of Ste-Chapelle in its liturgy, celebrating the Office *à la manière et semblance que l'on fait en la chapelle de monseigneur le roi en son palais royal à Paris*. The last such foundation was in fact founded by a Scoto-French prince: John Stewart, duke of Albany and earl of March, at Vic-le-Comte in 1505.<sup>169</sup>

How then does the situation in Scotland compare? On the whole, it seems that there was very little use of the term *capella regia*, or *capella regis*, to refer to specific institutions before James III's reign. The only known exception is the chapel royal of St Mary on the Rock in St Andrews, as noted in Chapter One. This was referred to as the 'chapel royal' possibly from

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<sup>168</sup> Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels*, p.6. Abbé Mollat, *Le Roi de France et la Collation Plénière des Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques*, Extrait de Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Tome xiv, 2<sup>o</sup> parite (Paris, 1951), pp.3-6, 47-62.

<sup>169</sup> C. Billot, 'Les Stes-Chapelles (xiii<sup>e</sup>-xv<sup>e</sup> siècles). Approche comparée de fondations dynastiques', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* lxxiii (1987), pp.229-234. I am grateful to Dr Andrew Brown for this reference.



1286x96, and certainly by 1386 when the provostry was erected into a dignity in St Andrews cathedral chapter.<sup>170</sup> Unfortunately it remains difficult to say much more about St Mary's, and what being 'the chapel royal' meant. Its prebends were certainly in royal patronage. It undoubtedly had unique standing as a secular college in royal patronage before the foundations of the late fifteenth century; indeed, it was the only secular college in Scotland before c.1330.<sup>171</sup> It is, as far as we know, the only Scottish church known as a chapel royal before James III's reign.

The printed edition of the Exchequer Rolls appears to show the existence of one other, but closer examination proves this to be misleading. In the published *Exchequer Rolls*, the Chamberlain's account of November 1329 includes a payment of £6 13s 4d is recorded to *domino Johanni Jordan, in partem solucionis quadraginta librarum, sibi per regem concessarum ad fabricam Capelle Regie infra castrum... et sic satisfactum est ei de viginta libris*.<sup>172</sup> Although the castle here is unnamed, it has been indexed as a reference to Edinburgh Castle.<sup>173</sup> However, there are two unsubstantiated editorial assumptions here. Firstly, and more importantly, if one looks at the manuscript roll, there is no capitalised *Capella Regia*, but a lower-case *capella reg'*; it is identical to the *reg'* for *regem* a few words before.<sup>174</sup> *Regis* would therefore seem to be a more likely expansion – the 'king's chapel.' It is certainly still interesting that the chapel is identified here as the 'king's chapel', but we should probably not assume that this is a fixed title, as the editors seem to have done. Furthermore, there is no good reason to assume that Edinburgh castle chapel is intended. Rather, there can be little doubt but that it refers to the chapel of Roxburgh Castle: in the account for August 1329, payment was recorded of £13 to 'sir John Jordanson (*Jordani*) the rector of the chapel of the castle of Roxburgh, in part payment of £40 granted by the king for the said chapel's

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<sup>170</sup> *Fasti* (revised edn), pp.431, 484; *Clement VII Letters* p.113-4.

<sup>171</sup> Apart from colleges in royal patronage after the forfeiture of their patronal families.

<sup>172</sup> ER i.239.

<sup>173</sup> See index s.v. 'Edinburgh.'

<sup>174</sup> NAS, Exchequer Rolls, E38/10.

construction'('Et domino Johanni Jordan' Rectori capelle castri de Roxburgh' in partem solucionis quadraginta librarum ad constructionem dicce capelle per Regem conc[essarum]. xiiij li'. vj s' .viii d' . Et sic restant quadraginta marce non salute.')175 It would seem quite impossible that these two payments do not refer to the same project. (The editors' assumption is, however, interesting, as it is presumably connected to two slightly problematic references to the *capella regis* in the mid fourteenth century which we will discuss shortly.<sup>176</sup>)

There was thus no *capella regia* at Roxburgh. The use of *capella regis* to designate this castle chapel by the chamberlain or the clerk of the exchequer seems most likely to derive from the fact that the king is directly funding its building. At any rate, no particular privileges are otherwise known to be attached to the chapel. At the same time, however, it may be worth noting that this chapel had been the object of particular royal attention from as far back as David I's reign. David I had endowed it with land in the castle and in his demesnes in Roxburgh (not many castle chapels are known to have had permanent endowments of this sort). David had further allocated to the chapel the offerings of all castle residents and part of the offerings of the king's party when he was staying there. In David's charter it also seems noteworthy that the chapel is referred to as the *church* of St John of the castle of Roxburgh. This term seems to remain in at least occasional use in the long run: in the exchequer rolls for 1327 and 1331 (in accounts of the provosts and *firmarii* of Roxburgh), it is also referred to as a church.<sup>177</sup> There are then hints that Roxburgh castle chapel could be regarded as having a peculiar dignity, apparently grounded in its relationship to the king; but there seems no particular reason to think that this was generally expressed by designating it a 'chapel royal.'

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<sup>175</sup> ER i.210; Exchequer Rolls, E38/10.

<sup>176</sup> The chapel of Kildrummy castle is also inexplicably indexed under 'chapel royal' in ER vi, although it is given no such name at the places indicated.

<sup>177</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, ed., *Charters of King David I* (Woodbridge, 1999), no 42 (cf. RRS ii no 315). ER i.67, 299, 353: payments of a fee from Roxburgh burgh farms to the (unnamed) chaplain in 1327 and 1331 (over two terms). Exchequer Rolls, E38/3, 16, 20.



For the moment we will leave particular *capelle regie*, and turn to consider the use of *capella* to mean clerical personnel. Scotland followed the usual continental usage of *capella regia*, which referred to all the king's clerics, if not to his whole household. In England, *capelle regia* had a more restricted usage, meaning the Chapel Royal in the sense of the liturgical department of the royal household.<sup>178</sup> Barrow's analysis of William I's acta thus gives *capella regis* as covering all the king's clerical staff. The distinction between those with primarily administrative and primarily liturgical duties seems to be made by calling the former 'clerks' and the latter 'chaplains', although the divide is not absolute.<sup>179</sup> In the sources, we far more often encounter the writing-office than the liturgy. References to the king's 'chapel' are usually to what was in England called the chancery: the most common appearance is in phrases such as 'letters made after the form of our *capella*'. The first citation for this usage in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British and Irish Sources* is 1193.<sup>180</sup> There are, however, sporadic references to the other sense.

The best treatment of the Chapel Royal of Scotland in this sense is the brief but very valuable discussion by Athol Murray and the late Professor Watt in the revised *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi*.<sup>181</sup> They take as their starting point the obligation and privilege of Holyrood Abbey to provide a chaplain for the king: a chaplain celebrating in *capella regis*. Our knowledge of this derives primarily from a charter of David II on 10th December 1342, where the king states that he had seen evidence that this had been Holyrood's right from its first foundation. Watt and Murray read this to mean that Holyrood had provided a chaplain 'for the itinerant king's chapel' since its foundation. This is possible, but upon examining David II's grant it begins to appear somewhat problematic. David's charter states:

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<sup>178</sup> Denton, *Royal Free Chapels*, pp.3-5; W. Ullman, ed., *Liber Regie Capelle* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1961).

<sup>179</sup> RRS ii pp.31-2, p.62 n.24. Cf. Ullman, *Liber Regie Capelle*, pp.1-2.

<sup>180</sup> *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British and Irish Sources*, s.v. 'capella' sense 4. Cf RRS v pp.206-13.

<sup>181</sup> Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, pp.431-3.

...volumus esse notum quod ex certis evidenciis colligimus et pleno concepimus intellectu quod religiosi viri abbas et conuentus monasterii Sancte Crucis de Edinburgch ex prima fundacione eiusdem monasterii sui sunt et fuerunt in plena possessione in feodo inueniendi nobis et successoribus nobis regibus Scocie capellanum perpetuum et continuum in capella nostra diuina celebrantem ad quem spectant et spectabunt oblaciones obuenciones et omnia alia que ad capellanum nostrum de iure aut de consuetudine iuste debeant pertinere.<sup>182</sup>

...we wish it to be known that from certain evidences we have concluded and have grasped with full understanding that the religious men the abbot and convent of the monastery of the Holy Rood of Edinburgh, from the first foundation of their same monastery, are and have been in full possession in fee of [the right of] finding for us and our successor kings of Scotland a perpetual and continual chaplain celebrating divine service in our chapel, to whom pertains and will pertain offerings, obventions and all other things which justly to pertain to our chaplain by law or by custom.

This confirmation was repeated on 30th December of the same year, and again, when David confirmed his father's confirmation of Holyrood's possessions and rights, as granted by David I. David II appends a new clause after Robert's confirmation:

Volumus eciam quod dicti Abbas et conuentus habeant et possideant capellaniam capelle nostre ita quod Abbas dicti monasterii qui pro tempore fuerit sit capellanus noster principalis et unum canonicum suum substituat in nostra capella loco sui qui oblaciones obuenciones et omnia alia que de iure aut consuetudine ad nostram capellam spectant integre percipiat.<sup>183</sup>

We wish also that the said abbot and convent should have and possess the chaplainry of our chapel, so that the abbot of the monastery at any given time should be our principal chaplain, and should substitute a canon of his in our chapel in his place, who should receive fully the offerings, obventions and all other things which by law or custom pertain to our chapel.

Additions at the end of a general confirmation usually indicate a new grant made at some point by the king who is renewing the confirmation. And indeed in this case, David II's clauses added to Robert I's confirmation and David I's charter give no indication that this appendix is also a confirmation, even though David II's slightly earlier charter claims that the abbey had had this right from its first foundation. Certainly neither David I's charter nor Robert I's confirmation includes any language corresponding

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<sup>182</sup> RRS vi no 59.

<sup>183</sup> RRS vi nos 60, 71. See Barrow, *Charters of King David I*, no 147, for more comments on David I's charter.



closely to David II's. However, David I's charter *had* granted Holyrood 'the church of the castle' – like the phrase used of Roxburgh in the 1320 – with its offerings, and if David II is indeed confirming an existing privilege, then this is the only part of David I's charter which could possibly correspond. This *ecclesiam castelli* seems to be that of Edinburgh Castle, since it is in the midst of grants of Edinburgh land. Indeed, the editors of the Bannatyne Club collection of Holyrood charters glossed David II's charter of 10<sup>th</sup> December by heading it as a grant applying to *Edinburgh Castle* chapel.<sup>184</sup>

David's first, stand-alone confirmation of this privilege, and the grant appended to the general confirmation, thus appear – at least superficially – slightly inconsistent. Our understanding is naturally hampered by the condition of Holyrood Abbey's records, which are for the most part conspicuous by their absence. Two suggestions might be offered. First: given that there are a good two centuries between the two Kings David, it is eminently possible that the grant of the 'church of the castle' had by 1342 long since settled into meaning that Holyrood provided a (secular) chaplain to the castle, while offerings were sent to the Abbey. This seems more likely than that the Abbey was responsible for providing either a canon or a secular chaplain to the king's itinerant household. Unless information has been lost about Holyrood's privileged relationship to the court – which, given the parlous state of Holyrood's records, is eminently possible – this apparent confusion may simply be the result of changes in clerical arrangement at court over the two centuries between the two Kings David.

Secondly, however, it should nonetheless be noted that, while little is known about liturgical arrangements for David I's court, his surviving charters do indicate a special relationship between the king and the religious of the kingdom – which is hardly surprising given David's well known enthusiasm for the reformed religious orders of his day – involving some concrete demands for liturgical service. As we have just seen, the 'church' of Edinburgh Castle was among the endowments granted to Holyrood Abbey.

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<sup>184</sup> *Holyrood Lib.* no 95.

The chapel of Peebles castle was granted to Kelso Abbey, and William I assigned to Kelso a rent which David I had granted to fund suffrages for his eldest son Earl Henry's soul.<sup>185</sup> David granted Selkirk church to the abbot of Kelso and his successors – the community had recently been moved from Selkirk to their new site – and added the curious condition *quod predicti abbates sint capellani mei et filii mei et successorum meorum de predicta ecclesia*, 'that the said abbots should be my chaplains, and my sons' and my successors', with regard to the said church.' This requirement is repeated word for word in David's general charter re-establishing the monks of Selkirk at Kelso.<sup>186</sup> Exactly what being the king's chaplain *de* Selkirk church might mean for the abbot is not clear, but some level of personal responsibility to the king seems to be implied.

With regard to Edinburgh and Peebles, it is worth noting that there is nothing unique about employing religious clergy in royal castle chapels: some castle chapels in France, both royal and magnatial, were served by monks of local houses from the early thirteenth century. However, few of these arrangements persisted for the rest of the middle ages, but tended to be replaced by secular colleges, the 'saintes-chapelles', in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>187</sup> Whether the possession of the *ecclesiam* of Edinburgh Castle had meant that a canon had habitually served there, or simply that a chaplain served while all offerings were sent to Holyrood, is not known. But whether or not the arrangement had persisted throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was almost certainly disrupted: not by a collegiate foundation, but after 1296 by the wars of the interregnum and the Bruce kings' reigns. Although 'St Margaret's' chapel was kept intact, Robert Bruce demolished the castle when he captured it in 1314, as was his strategic wont.

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<sup>185</sup> Barrow, *David I Charters*, no. 258; *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: Registrum Cartarum Abbacie Tironensis de Kelso 1113-1567*, 2 vols, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1846) [*Kelso Lib.*] no 13. William I's charter suggests that this may be a notably early example of a true chaplainry: a specific income assigned to a particular chaplain to celebrate for a particular intention. However, it is not entirely clear whether the rent will go directly to the chaplain whom the monks are to find.

<sup>186</sup> Barrow, *David I Charters*, nos 180 (1150x1152), 183 (1147x52).

<sup>187</sup> Billot, 'Les Stes-Chapelles', pp.234-6.



It was still in a ruinous state when southern Scotland came under the control of Edward Balliol and Edward III; the former began to rebuild it in 1336. It did not come back into the Bruce government's hands until a dramatic recapture of April 1341. The canons of Holyrood were, meanwhile, apparently no friends to Edinburgh's occupiers: Abbot Bower (a fellow Augustinian) tells a story of their protection of a Scottish fugitive.<sup>188</sup>

David II returned from France shortly after the castle's recapture, in June 1341. His confirmations to Holyrood Abbey in 1342 can therefore – whether they were made on the initiative of the king or that of the abbot – be seen as part of the general effort to re-establish routine. Given that the king had been in exile at Château Gaillard, the ordering of Scottish court life had also presumably been interim at best. The most likely intended effect of the 1342 confirmation-cum-grant, then, was perhaps, building on the abbey's ancient rights, to establish an effectively new arrangement whereby Holyrood provided permanent chaplaincy to the king. This would seem to be the best way to read the slightly ambiguous use of *capella nostra*, and the slightly inconsistent hints of both antiquity and novelty. The requirement to celebrate daily in *capella nostra* and to receive offerings does not necessarily imply a physical chapel – the English *Liber Capelle Regie*, in describing the duties of the staff of the Chapel Royal, frequently speaks as if services were taking place in *Capella Regia*; however, it is known that they did not serve in any specific building, but rather followed the court.<sup>189</sup>

Whether Holyrood continued to receive income from Edinburgh Castle chapel after David II's grant is unclear. At any rate Holyrood did not retain exclusive ecclesiastical interest in the Castle, as David II himself constructed a new chapel, St Mary's, when he rebuilt it. In 1366 the chaplain serving there received payment of his salary, £10 per annum due from Edinburgh's burgh farms. These payments continued until the end of Robert

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<sup>188</sup> Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, pp.85, 134,139; Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Bk XIII cc 34, 37, 41, 46.

<sup>189</sup> Ullman, *Liber Capelle Regie*, pp.7-8, pp.58-60 (description of liturgies), p.61 (king and queen's daily offerings noted).

II's reign, when Robert founded a chaplainry in the older St Margaret's chapel. (Curiously, in 1381 the exchequer rolls describe the chaplain as a 'friar', *frater*; but this is the only occasion when he is not simply designated 'chaplain'.)<sup>190</sup> Robert II's chaplainry was founded on £8 from Edinburgh burgh ferm; Robert III confirmed the foundation, but transferred the chaplain to St Mary's. The exchequer rolls seem to indicate that after this point there was in fact only one chaplain; only one name at a time appears, while sometimes St Mary's and sometimes St Margaret's is named. The salary went back up to £10 in 1445 (if paid in Scots, it would have begun to lose value almost as soon as it was granted; in the 1470s; the rolls explicitly note that this is a payment of £10 which used to be £8).<sup>191</sup> The castle chapels were thus apparently primarily served by a secular chaplain. This chaplainry could seemingly be a stepping stone to greater things in royal service; sir Ninian Spot, chaplain for some years under James II, went on to become comptroller.<sup>192</sup> At no point, it should be noted, is either of these chapels referred to as a or the *capella regia* or *regis*.

Despite the length at which we have dwelt upon David II's apparently novel arrangements, it must also be said that they apparently had no long-term effect. Again, we are hampered by the paucity of Holyrood's own records and of evidence concerning day-to-day court life. It is difficult to say anything about liturgical provision at court later in the reign of David II and in the reigns of Roberts II and III. A petition to the pope in this period does show awareness of and provision for the ecclesiastically peculiar position of the court, which was not in any permanent parish: Queen Euphemia, Robert II's wife, in 1383 petitioned for permission for her and her familiars to be able to choose their own confessors, who would be able to absolve even in cases reserved to minor penitentiaries at the Curia.<sup>193</sup> The *capella regis* under that

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<sup>190</sup> ER ii.246 and indexed s.v. 'Edinburgh'; ER iii.53 for 1381; RMS ii.805.

<sup>191</sup> RMS ii.805; ER iii.133, 221, 321, v.180, viii.119, 390; and indexed s.v. 'Edinburgh'.

<sup>192</sup> ER v.222, vi.122.

<sup>193</sup> CPL iv.247, 250.



name, however, surfaces again in James I's reign, and it seems likely that significant developments should be attributed to this period.

Two elements are documented for the first time under James I. The first is permanent and impressive musical resources maintained in the royal household. This is reported by Bower; the description is brief enough, but the impression given is that this was a novelty of royal instigation:

Quam intentus fuit circa divina capella eius regia in multitudine cantorum curiam eius sequencium non sine maximis et regalibus expensis circa altare quasi celitus preparata testatur, qui in sonitu divine laudis dulcissimos modulos effecerunt.<sup>194</sup>

How intent he was upon things divine<sup>195</sup> is witnessed to by his chapel royal, with altar service made as it were heavenly in a throng of singers who followed his court at great and kingly cost, who made the sweetest *modulos* in sounding the praise of God.

Secondly, also in James I's reign is the first known reference to the chapel royal with a dean at its head, who was certainly not the abbot of Holyrood or one of his canons. As Watt and Murray point out, this title is first seen in 1429, when one Robert Storm supplicated to the pope under the description of 'dean of the chapel royal of the king of Scots'. Some indication of what the deanery involved is found in 1434, when James I supplicated 'that the Pope grant indulgence to the dean of the Chapel Royal to hear confessions of their familiars, to absolve them once even in cases reserved to the Pope and as often as necessary in other cases and to impose salutary penance.'<sup>196</sup> This clearly builds on the sort of privilege granted to confessors at court as supplicated for by Euphemia in 1383, and in fact James I had himself petitioned for more extensive rights in 1430: these ensured that courtiers always had access to confessors and a parish priest. 'The confessor of the King or his principal chaplain or the common confessor of his familiars

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<sup>194</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XVI c.37. This chapter concerns the inevitability of death and thus the lack of divine injustice in the removal of the king, even if it seems to have brought 'ruin' to Scotland. The comment on the chapel royal seems rather out of place; it is presumably intended to show that James had the right perspective, but this is not particularly clear.

<sup>195</sup> *Divina* is ambiguous; it might more specifically mean 'divine service' of a liturgical sort, which fits the immediate context of the remark but is less suitable to the chapter as a whole (see previous note). Cf *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British and Irish Sources*, s.v. 'Divinus' senses 3 and 4.

<sup>196</sup> Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, p.431; CSSR iii.60, iv no 121a. Cf. no 136.

or their deutes' was to be able 'to absolve in any place all his familiars of both sexes and his courtiers, as long as they are in his service or following ihis court, from all their sins' except in cases reserved to the Holy See, and to administer sacraments 'where they cannot conveniently go to their own curates.' That it was someone with the title of dean who would exercise such faculties was thus apparently not yet firmly established, despite the apparent existence of the office in 1429. Ecclesiastical provision for courtiers was also not entirely provided for within the royal household, for 'the king's familiars and servitors following his court' were to 'be considered parishioners of the parish church of the place where the King happens to be residing with his court'. The same was asked for the queen's courtiers.<sup>197</sup> The 1434 petition thus does not seem to change the arrangements in place for the court, but does demonstrate an attempt to define a particular office to exercise such functions, lent the prestige of a new title.

A similar supplication to that of 1434 was made by James II in 1450: 'that the Pope would grant an indult to the dean of [the king's] chapel to hear confessions, to grant absolutions, administer sacraments, receive oblations, etc, of the domestic members of the household of both sexes, of him and the queen of Scotland.'<sup>198</sup> But this title was still not quite, it seems, set in stone: John Spalding was described in a papal letter of 1467 as James III's 'counsellor and confessor and *master* of his chapel royal.' In 1465-6 he had already been described as a chaplain, and member of the household, of the king.<sup>199</sup>

This, as Watt and Murray point out, brings the situation closer to that at the English court. The choral establishment mentioned by Bower adds to the effect. It is clearer in English records that the king's chaplains, who constituted his *capella*, formed a distinct department of the household, with certain ecclesiastical "immunities, liberties and privileges" confirmed by

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<sup>197</sup> CSSR iii.79-80.

<sup>198</sup> CSSR v no 366, CPL x.214.

<sup>199</sup> Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, p.433; CPL xii.278-9, 455.



Pope Gregory IX in 1236. The exact character of this organization is, however, not clear until 1449, when its dean wrote the *Liber Regie Capelle* to be sent to the king of Portugal. By this stage, the Chapel had forty-nine persons, an enormous increase on the situation under Edward I, when it had only sixteen; and it was headed by a dean. Several generations beforehand, in the early fourteenth century, Denton notes that the chancellor was described as *chef de le chapele nostre seigneur le Roi* (perhaps here *chapele* is being used in a wider sense of all clerical staff), and that the chaplains were headed simply by a 'head chaplain.' The dean's role had become more defined, as a 'quasi-bishop' with more extensive privileges than those granted to the Scots dean: the English dean has cure of souls of the royal household, with the right to hear confessions and grant absolution except in cases reserved to the Holy See, and he has episcopal jurisdiction in criminal matters at court; in spiritual matters being subject only to the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>200</sup> When the English dean finally acquired these powers seems to be unclear. It might also be noted that the Scottish court and chapel royal had more limited ecclesiastical privileges than the French, where there was essentially a 'royal diocese', 'created by the canonical exemptions which freed the royal family and the king's people [*gens*] from the jurisdiction of the ordinary.'<sup>201</sup>

Why the Scottish *capella regis* acquired a dean of the more English type is also unclear. As with David II's grant to Holyrood, however, the timing is probably significant. Dean Robert Storm is found in 1429, a few years after James I returned from English captivity – after, that is, another long period of 'interim' conditions at court, albeit considerably more settled conditions than in David II's case. Moreover, if any king was likely to create new arrangements along English lines, it was surely James I, as is most clearly seen in his planned reform of parliament and more broadly in his high

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<sup>200</sup> *Liber Regie Capelle* pp.1-9, 56-7; Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels*, pp.3-5.

<sup>201</sup> Xavier de la Selle, *La Service des Ames a la Cour: Confessurs et Aumôniers des Rois de France du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Mémoires et Documents de l'École des Chartes 43 (Paris, 1995), p.8.

aspirations for royal control. If Henry V already had a dean at the head of his *capella*, then, an English model is possible. It may also be worth noting, however, the background of this Robert Storm. Watt and Murray do not point out that he has already appeared as a 'dean' in a papal supplication – in 1420 the earl of Douglas had supplicated in the person of 'his familiar', Robert Storm, 'priest and dean of his chapel.'<sup>202</sup> The third and fourth earls of Douglas had notably highly structured households, with officials such as chancellors and secretaries - not unusual for a French prince, but at this point unique among Scottish magnates. This appearance of a dean of the earl's chapel may be another manifestation of this, although I am not aware of any other occasions where such a dignitary is mentioned. Given that the same man appears under both Douglas and royal patronage, it is perhaps possible that the adoption of a dean to head the court chaplains was also connected to the move of this particular cleric from Douglas to royal service.

Storm's career is a slightly puzzling one, which develops along fairly typical lines of noble and royal service, but which then fizzles out. He appears in 1406 supplicating to the pope for confirmation in his benefice, which he still held in 1410 when supplicating, ultimately unfruitfully, for another. This benefice, the vicarage of Dregerne in Glasgow diocese, had by 1420 been demitted and that of the rectory of Covington, also Glasgow diocese, obtained. The supplication then made on his behalf by the earl of Douglas was also eventually unsuccessful.<sup>203</sup> In 1422 he was still in Douglas circles; as rector of Covington, he witnessed a charter of Archibald Douglas, earl of Wigton, in March 1422/3.<sup>204</sup> By 1429, Robert held the parish of Kirkandrews in Galloway diocese and the canonry of Strathblane in Glasgow cathedral chapter. It is in his supplication for confirmation of the latter that the royal connection appeared, after he had been challenged in the

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<sup>202</sup> CSSR i.192.

<sup>203</sup> *Benedict XII Letters* pp.158, 220-1; *CPP* i.595. *CSSR* i.192, 204-5.

<sup>204</sup> W. Fraser, ed. *The Douglas Book*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1885), iii p.414.



benefice.<sup>205</sup> After this point, however, Robert fades into obscurity; what looked like a developing career in royal service is not visible any further in the sources. He reappears only in 1441, acting for Glasgow cathedral chapter before the Official of Glasgow. At this point he is entitled 'Master', although no degree is mentioned in the supplications to Rome and he is not in Watt's *Biographical Dictionary*; nor is he recorded in St Andrews arts faculty between 1429 and 1440. Had he gone abroad to study? In any case, he did not, it seems, remain at court. Perhaps his Douglas connections eventually made his service unpalatable to James I. Alan Cant, dean under James II, seems to have done better out of the job; he appears acting as the king's almoner at one point, and was also chancellor of St Andrews Cathedral.<sup>206</sup>

The institution of the dean's position and the expansion of sung liturgy at court are thus first documented in James I's reign. Although these developments are not precisely datable, it seems consonant with his style of kingship that he should have sought to enhance his chapel: he was aware of English practice, and in his own rule sought to emphasis anew the authority of a reigning king.

In James II's reign the Exchequer Rolls demonstrate that the *capella regis* was still sufficiently staffed for musical purposes, with mention of both men and boys; and that it was equipped with its own vestments and books. The rolls show payments for cloth in 1438; for the expenses of the men and boys *de capella domini regis* run up (*factis*) at Stirling in the king's absence, in 1443; for vestment repair in 1452; and book repair in 1460.<sup>207</sup> Interestingly, expenses for cloth in 1458 were paid to the masters of fabric of Edinburgh Castle, which might point back to a base at that Castle; but the expenses at Stirling suggest itinerancy.

In James III's reign, matters become clearer with the first surviving Treasurer's Accounts, an island of entries for 1473-4. These give a similar but

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<sup>205</sup>CPL viii.102, CSSR iii.60..

<sup>206</sup>ER vi.3; CPL xi.447-8...

<sup>207</sup> ER v.35, 596, 499, vi.386, 581.

fuller picture to those scattered Exchequer Rolls references for his father's chapel, as do the Accounts for the first years of James IV's reign. Continuing expenses for books and vestments demonstrate further that 'the chapel' was well equipped: among other things there was payment for 'a pres kist to the chapell to keip the graith'. These accounts also give the impression that 'the chapel' was primarily based in Edinburgh, at Holyrood Abbey, although this may simply be because James III preferred to live in Edinburgh.<sup>208</sup> There also seems to be some degree of separate provision for the king and the queen: payments are made both for 'vellous for a chesabell to the kingis closate' and 'a mes buke to the quenys alter.'<sup>209</sup>

To summarise the situation thus far: When used to designate specific churches in royal patronage, *capella regia* was a very narrowly used term in Scotland, referring only to the college of St Mary-on-the-Rock in St Andrews. However, it seems that certain castle chapels may have been accorded some particular status. When used to denote clerical staff, *capella regis* may equally well refer to all the king's clerics or only to his writing office. Certainly by the mid fourteenth century, however, it could apparently also refer only to the court chaplains. The royal house's tradition of chaplaincy from monastics persisted in David II, but not apparently much longer. Probably from James I's time, the body of court chaplains was becoming more substantial and had acquired a president with privileges which effectively made him the court's parish priest. The terms *capella regia* and *capella regis* seem to be more or less interchangeable, although, roughly speaking, up to this point the former term tends to denote a building, and the latter a body.

The foundations of James III and outstandingly James IV's reign appear to represent a notable change in direction from these - rather unclear - developments in two respects. As already noted, it was a novelty to make foundations which could be referred to as chapels royal, namely at Restalrig and Stirling. And, more significantly, in Stirling the two meaning of *capella*

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<sup>208</sup> TA i.64

<sup>209</sup> TA i.19, 39.



were essentially combined, in the foundation of a secular college under whose aegis came cure of souls of the court.

As Watt and Murray point out, the latter idea first clearly surfaces in 1472, when there is a reference to the 'dean of the chapel royal of St Mary, St Andrews.' St Mary's was headed by a provost; no dean is hitherto known. There may, however, as they argue, have been an earlier association between the dean of the chapel royal and the college of St Mary on the Rock..<sup>210</sup> What this may have meant in practice is, however, unclear. The first more concrete attempt to produce a grand unified institution also seems to be found in 1472, when James III proposed to suppress Coldingham priory and unite it to St Mary's in St Andrews. As said above, the plan was then changed, so that a new chapel royal would be established at Coldingham as well as in St Andrews. James' Coldingham project looks like a cynical political exercise: it both detached Coldingham from English control, and frustrated certain members of the Hume family. Theo van Heijnsbergen's discussion of the Chapel Royal 'as cultural intermediary between town and court' (primarily focussed on James V's and VI's reigns) probably takes a better approach in situating the project in James's self-understanding. He suggests that the Coldingham affair was another example of James's political insensitivity: he was undermining the Humes' profitable bailliary of Coldingham in favour of the 'specifically royal purpose' of establishing a Chapel Royal, as he attempted 'to be a truly modern sovereign over a nation that had its own cultural identity, an identity that would in its turn reinforce the reputation of the sovereign because it was closely tied up with the royal cause.'<sup>211</sup> James's genuine investment in the notion of a new Chapel Royal appears still more likely in light of Norman MacDougall's interesting argument that James now

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<sup>210</sup> Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, p.432.

<sup>211</sup> N. Macdougall, 'The Struggle for the Priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488', *IR* xxiii (1972), pp.102-114; T. van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal as cultural intermediary between town and court', in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, eds. Jan Willem Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald, Brill Studies in Intellectual History 61 (Leiden, 1995), pp.299-300.

planned to transfer the chapel royal to Restalrig.<sup>212</sup> Although still often referred to as a chapel royal, Restalrig's status on this front is not entirely clear. The frequent references to the *capella regis* at Restalrig are probably simply descriptive – distinguishing the king's chapel from the parish church. It nonetheless seems significant that it was given a deanery as its chief dignity, and there are a few references in the 1490s to the 'dean of the chapel royal (*capelle regie*) of Restalrig.'<sup>213</sup> James III may also have been influenced in his increasingly ambitious plans for Restalrig by Edward IV's great collegiate projects in England. Edward patronised the building of the magnificent new chapel of St George at Windsor over the decade before his death in April 1483. St George's college was incorporated in 1483 with twenty-six clerks and choristers over and above Edward III's foundation. The Household's Royal Free Chapel was also incorporated as a college in 1483, with a dean, three canons, and twenty-four chaplains and clerks chosen for musical skill.<sup>214</sup> If James hoped to develop Restalrig along such lines, however, the plan scarcely outlasted James himself, although Jameses IV and V did complete the endowment of the college.

The new shape of the Chapel Royal was successfully established only in 1501, by James IV. As Theo van Heijnsbergen notes, English influence continues to be in evidence.<sup>215</sup> Its foundation is recorded in its papal confirmation. James IV had informed the pope that 'in the Chapel Royal called St Mary's and St Michael's, within James's palace in Stirling one dean and many other singers and chaplains and clerks, removable at James's will, celebrate masses and other divine offices each day, and [that] King James has caused the said chapel to be reformed at his own expense, and has honourably gifted and ornamented it with books, chalices and other ecclesiastical ornaments necessary for divine worship in the said chapel, and also assigned to the same chapel certain immovable goods legitimately

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<sup>212</sup> Macdougall, 'The Struggle for the Priory of Coldingham', pp.111-2.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.* p.111; also ER x.408, 494.

<sup>214</sup> Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1983), pp.274-6.

<sup>215</sup> van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal as cultural intermediary', p.300 n.4.



pertaining to him for its endowment'. He then petitioned that the chapel be erected into a collegiate church, and that the provostry of St-Mary-on-the-Rock in St Andrews be erected into a deanery for a dean who would be dean in Stirling when he was in Stirling, and provost in St Andrews when he was in St Andrews, such 'that there should not be two dignities but one only'. To this dean would pertain 'cura animarum dicti Jacobi et pro tempore existentis regis et regine Scotorum et eorum officialium et familiarium continuorum commensalium et eorumdem familiarium familiarium [sic] et seruatorum.' It is in this vital clause that the union of the usual provision for liturgy and cure of souls at court with a particular concrete church establishment becomes clear. The college at Stirling was to consist further of a subdean – who stood in for the dean when the latter was not resident – a sacrist, sixteen canons and six boy clerks. (This was thus the largest college in Scotland, with the greatest musical resources.) The pope removed the Chapel Royal from ordinary episcopal authority: the dean was directly subject to the pope, and the other clergy were subject to the dean for all matters of ordinary jurisdiction, visitation and correction. (This essentially provided for a 'royal diocese' parallel to the French situation.) The dean was given faculty to absolve the king and queen and their children of most sins reserved to the Holy See. James IV also supplicated that most of Restenneth's fruits, and the prebends of Dunbar collegiate church, be appropriated to the new college. The pope granted this and allowed the appropriation of several other canonries and parish churches. The pope allowed all this to take place on the usual condition that mandatories in Scotland investigate the accuracy of the petition's narrative. In this case it was the abbot of Scone and archdeacon of Lothian. The apostolic letters were duly presented and witnesses swore to the circumstances at Falkland Palace on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1501. The erection of the new college was formally made at Stirling on 6<sup>th</sup> September of that year.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland, with the Register of the Chapel Royal of Scotland*, ed. C. Rogers (Grampian Club, 1882), no 1 pp.2-17

The importance of the Chapel Royal as a display of royal grandeur has been recognised,<sup>217</sup> but the institutional innovation thus made should also be emphasised. It is true that Scottish court arrangements were on a much smaller scale than those in richer polities, and that official structures tended to be established later. The Bruce and Stewart kings did not make elaborate ecclesiastical foundations, or have royal chapel buildings, to rival the Ste-Chapelle or the English colleges of St George's Windsor, St Stephen's Westminster and the Chapel Royal. As we have seen, the rise of secular colleges in Scotland was not a fashion led by the crown. The performance of elaborate liturgy at court also seems to be a development no earlier than the 1420s, apparently at much the same time as the chapel royal began to be headed by a dean with privileges pertaining to pastoral care at court, and musically Scotland could not rival England or Burgundy.<sup>218</sup> Yet despite the lesser grandeur of the Scottish court, James III and IV's adaptation of Scottish collegiate forms, with the aim of institutionalising the *capella regia* in a particular ecclesiastical structure – in both constitutional and physical senses – was a quite unprecedented step to combine and consolidate liturgy for the king, ecclesiastical jurisdiction at court, and (in the plan's successful form) a particular architectural setting. (It is unfortunate, to say the least, that nothing remains of James IV's Chapel Royal building.) Several elements of court life were thus incorporated into a markedly novel concrete form, suggestive of a more defined and articulated sense of the court as an institution within the kingdom. The relatively small size of the Scottish establishment indeed contributes to this, inasmuch as there was only one focus of official royal liturgy.

This sense was still more concretely realised when in 1504 the deanery was detached from the St Andrews provostry and united instead to the bishopric of Galloway: there really was a royal diocese in Scotland. The dean

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<sup>217</sup> E.g. MacDonald, 'Princely Culture', pp.163-4

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975), pp.168-170; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp.258-9, 275.



of the Chapel Royal was also to have jurisdiction over royal castles.<sup>219</sup> The royal residences were thus permanent outposts of the court, in ecclesiastical terms. The foundation of a chaplainry in James's new chapel at Holyrood demonstrates how this chapel could be structured into the Chapel Royal. On 18<sup>th</sup> December 1505 James IV granted twenty merks from the great customs of Edinburgh to support a chaplain to celebrate at St Mary and St Michael's altar in 'our new chapel founded by us within our palace next to the monastery of Holyrood'. This chaplain was to be 'curate of our Chapel Royal within our foresaid palace in the absence of the dean and subdean of the said Chapel, and under them he shall exercise cure of souls of our familiars in hearing their confessions and ministering the Sacraments to them... And he will be placed under the jurisdiction and correction of the said dean and subdean...' ('volumus et ordinamus quod dictus capellanus qui pro tempore fuerit sit curatus capelle nostre Regie infra palatium nostrum antedictum in absencia decani et subdecani dicte capelle et sub ipsis Curam gerat animarum familiarum nostrorum in audiendo confessiones ipsorum et sacramenta eis ministrando ... Et subponitus erit Iurisdictioni et correctioni dicti decani et subdecani...').<sup>220</sup> Through this measure, a chaplainry (which happened to be founded by the king) within a chapel (which happened to be in a royal palace) was incorporated into a larger institution which pertained of its essence to the king and court. This ongoing development of the Chapel Royal thus shows a further wish to solidify court institutions in a manner unprecedented in Scotland. This conclusion is consonant with Theo van Heijnsbergen's assessment of the cultural functions of the Chapel Royal. He argues that the Chapel Royal was 'a "centre of excellence" that [the Stewart kings] could put to good private as well as public use.' Through his successful public practice of kingship, James IV 'succeeded in making his own desires epitomise those of the nation: thus, the Chapel Royal became a truly national institution, its impact outweighing its cost and embodying an

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<sup>219</sup> *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* pp.2-17; Watt and Murray, *Fasti*, p.434.

<sup>220</sup> NAS, Register of the Great Seal, C2/14 (pt i), no 240.

undivided Christian culture.'<sup>221</sup> Such comments perhaps require some further examination of where 'the nation' and its desires should be located. Van Heijnsbergen does however show very well that later in the century, under James V, his widow Mary of Guise, and Queen Mary, the Chapel Royal flourished as the employer of musicians, poets and scholars, with considerable impact on the urban centres of Stirling and Edinburgh.<sup>222</sup> Although the music of the Chapel Royal is little documented, MacDonald points out that the arrival of Margaret Tudor's household after her marriage to James IV in 1503 may have stimulated Scottish use of the 'Eton Choirbook' style of polyphony. Robert Carver probably began writing for the Chapel Royal in 1508, and his music stands as the best testament to James IV's patronage.<sup>223</sup>

#### IV. James IV's religion

James IV is, as Norman Macdougall has said, a 'perennially fascinating' ruler.<sup>224</sup> The major reason for this is the relative abundance of source material concerning his reign, which brings this James closer to being a human being with whom we feel acquainted than is any previous Stewart monarch; and it does no harm that James's reputation is of being more glamorous and likeable than his immediate forebears. Indeed, as Macdougall's discussion of the king's historiographical afterlife shows, the character of James IV's kingship is more comprehensively graspable than that of any earlier Scots kings with the possible exceptions of David I and Robert I. James's character,

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<sup>221</sup> van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal as cultural intermediary', pp.300-301.

<sup>222</sup> van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal as cultural intermediary', pp.302-313.

<sup>223</sup> MacDonald, 'Princely Culture', pp.163-4; Roger Bowers, 'Carver, Robert', *Oxford DNB*, online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3764>, accessed 10<sup>th</sup> August 2006].

<sup>224</sup> Macdougall, *James IV*, p.ix.



in terms of his possession and cultivation of the pertinent virtues, was without doubt integral to his success.<sup>225</sup>

One of these virtues was his piety, which attracted favourable comment from Pedro de Ayala and Adam Abell.<sup>226</sup> That James was 'ostentatiously' pious and his devotions 'assiduous', at least in the simple sense that he publicly performed a great many religious observances, is in no doubt.<sup>227</sup> What this means in terms of James's human nature is a great deal more difficult to assess – not only for want of more than superficial chroniclers' commentary, but also, perhaps, as a result of a prevalent modern assumption that religiosity is at its most real when it involves personal spiritual experience with no necessary connection to institutions or conventions.<sup>228</sup>

It is not meant to suggest that modern commentators intend to assert the latter point of view, but its influence seems perceptible in the discomfort with which assessments of 'conventional' piety are made. The impression tends to be given that 'conventional' piety is purely formal, with something of an implication that formally pious behaviour does not have substance. MacDougall's discussion of James's 'Piety and Politics' is careful and judicious, and yet still includes the slightly curious statement that 'if one judges James IV's piety by his addiction to pilgrimage, then he was far more than a conventionally pious ruler going through the motions for the sake of his soul and the benefit of the monastic chroniclers.'<sup>229</sup> Yet surely if it is being done for the sake of a soul, it is *not* merely 'going through the motions'. (Neither, indeed, did James enjoy the attentions of monastic chroniclers,

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<sup>225</sup> Macdougall, *James IV*, Chap. 11 *passim*.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.* pp.217, 285, 296.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.* pp.218, 285; Nicholson, *The Later Middle Ages*, p.560.

<sup>228</sup> An important statement of this idea is in William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, (London, 1982; repr. of 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1902), p.6; cf. Joseph Ratzinger, *Truth and Tolerance: Christian Belief and World Religions*, tr. Henry Taylor (San Francisco, 2004), pp.23-7, 30, 32-4.

<sup>229</sup> Macdougall, *James IV*, p.197.

while Dunbar's poetic chronicling of court life is ostensibly unimpressed with royal piety.)

To assume that the offering of Mass was actually efficacious was conventional; and that more Masses had a greater effect was also an uncontroversial point. James would have had to be remarkably sceptical and unorthodox to doubt such matters, and neither his behaviour nor the extant reports of his habits give this impression. His many pilgrimages and apparent interest in relics suggests that he was not even as sceptical of untutored popular enthusiasms as were intellectuals like Erasmus and Thomas More. Moreover, James was not untutored. Pedro de Ayala reports that he was Latin literate, and the Treasurer's Accounts gives evidence of book-purchasing, including books liturgical (the king's *porteous*, Breviary, is mentioned) and devotional (the *vita Christi maior et minor*, possibly referring to Ludolph of Saxony's work).<sup>230</sup> As MacDonald notes, devotional poetry was written for his consumption.<sup>231</sup> From the Observant Franciscans of Stirling he presumably received further orthodox and austere teaching. James's activities as patron of churches, religious life and, above all, liturgy, were thus performed with awareness of their meaning. The variety of votive Masses requested, his reported habit of working while music was sung after Mass,<sup>232</sup> and his expansion of the Chapel Royal to a size which offered considerable musical resources, all suggest that he was well able to take an informed interest in liturgy and liturgical music. (One cannot but be aware of the intelligence and taste of his brother-in-law, Henry VIII.)

At the same time, however, James's commitment to orthodox Catholic practice did not displace or overshadow any other aspects of the life open to a young king, a rich young man among others. As Nicholson and Macdougall have noted, James's piety did not mean that he refrained from intervening in ecclesiastical affairs in the manner usual for rulers of the

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<sup>230</sup> TA ii.21, 39. *Early Travellers in Scotland* p.40.

<sup>231</sup> MacDonald, 'Princely Culture', pp.157-8.

<sup>232</sup> *Early Travellers in Scotland* p.40.



period. James acquired as much control of the episcopate as he could, and used monastic resources quite unabashedly. If his support for a Scottish liturgical Use represented the intention that the Scottish Church should be independent of external yoke in every sphere that she properly might be, this went alongside the assumption that the persons, and to a great degree the property, of the Scottish Church were in many respects well within the sphere of the Scottish king's proper authority.<sup>233</sup> On the more personal front, his enthusiasm for martial activities is very clear, both in his love of war as reported by de Ayala, and in his fondness for chivalric pastimes.<sup>234</sup> The latter is indeed not to be distinguished as such from Christian devotion; the good knight was of course a Christian knight. The jousting ground was equipped with a 'chapel of conscience beside the barres', which suggests that provision was made for combatants at tournaments to make confession, or at least pray, before fighting. James is also well known as having a certain interest in crusading, although it is almost impossible to determine how realistically James – along with the Pope and the other Christian princes, who bandied about the notion of Crusade with great frequency – viewed the prospect. However, the evidence concerning James's conduct of tournaments indicates, as far as one can determine, a romantic rather than devotional slant to James's tastes, particularly after his marriage.<sup>235</sup> He had no qualms about the tradition of Shrove Tuesday tournaments, which could be considered a trifle impious (if Bernard of Clairvaux's critique was maintained by later observers).<sup>236</sup> The great images of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady chosen for his grandest tournaments, in 1507 and 1508, were suggestive of romances, and, although there is little enough to indicate how those present read the imagery, on the surface they seem to prioritise fantastical adventure rather than the work of the *miles Christi*.<sup>237</sup> In more mundane matters, James's

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<sup>233</sup> Macdougall, *James IV*, Chap. 8 *passim*; Nicholson, *The Later Middle Ages*, pp.556-562.

<sup>234</sup> *Early Travellers in Scotland* p.40.

<sup>235</sup> K. Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp.82-99.

<sup>236</sup> Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p.89.

<sup>237</sup> Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, pp.94-6.

fondness for entirely secular entertainment is made quite clear by the very large sums expended upon playing cards with noblemen. Similarly, his persistent maintenance of mistresses demonstrates by itself that, if his piety were more than conventional (in a merely descriptive sense of the term) it was not a great deal more; he did not by any means strive to conform all aspects of his life to a pattern of sanctity, or, if he did so strive, it was with some unobtrusive deficiencies.

James indeed did not do anything radically unusual as such. Maintaining a clerical household was not an optional extra for the monarch. The hearing of daily Masses was also not an unusual habit for kings.<sup>238</sup> Largesse to the poor and to clerics for intercession was also conventional enough, if (as the French evidence shows) different kings might pattern their giving differently.<sup>239</sup> As already noted, whether James, in his donations in churches and commissioning of liturgies, behaved very differently from his father or other earlier Stewarts, is simply unknown. What certainly was different was the peripatetic aspect of his kingship, a sharp contrast to James III's practices, which affected at least the visibility of James IV's exercises of piety as it did other aspects of governance. As we have seen, James also built on his father's plans to institutionalise liturgical and pastoral provision at court in association with a royal collegiate foundation. The abortive nature of James III's plans for the chapel royal may mean that James III is too easily under-rated when assessing the development of a more structured approach to court liturgy.<sup>240</sup> Whatever the answer to this, however, in the end it was James IV who both put Restalrig's endowments on a reasonably secure

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<sup>238</sup> James's contemporaries Henry VII of England and Louis XI of France were also in this habit; Louis had numerous Masses said before him and for him. F. Kisby, 'Courtiers in the Community: The Musicians of the Royal Household Chapel in Early Tudor Westminster', in B. Thompson, ed., *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies V (Stamford, 1995), pp.238-9; de la Selle, *Le Service des Ames a la Cour*, p.187

<sup>239</sup> See de la Selle, *Le Service des Ames a la Cour*, pp.187-90, for contrasts between Louis XI and Charles VIII.

<sup>240</sup> Cf MacDonald's general assessment of James III's reign as offering a greater precedent for James IV's patronage than is usually acknowledged. MacDonald, 'Princely culture.'



footing and finally established a 'royal diocese' centred on a collegiate Chapel Royal. Exactly how these projects related to James IV's inner life is unknowable. Their very publicity, however, in a (limited) sense constituted part of their virtue, inasmuch as the public practice of Christianity was demanded of the king as part of his state of life. This point of view perhaps renders discussion of James's state of mind almost otiose, since the mere fact of his public piety was, precisely for a king, virtuous.

In short, given the absence of evidence for – and indeed positive evidence against – either sainthood, depravity or heresy on James IV's part, one is left to draw from the expenditure, activities and commissions recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts the conclusion that the king engaged in his religious duties enthusiastically and gave every indication of believing in their use.<sup>241</sup> One cannot, however, get beyond this or a similar form of words; these general statements might refer to a multitude of states of mind, and which was or were in fact entertained by James IV, there is no way to determine.

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<sup>241</sup> 'He was no saint, even if he regularly regretted being a sinner.' MacDonald, 'Princely culture in Scotland', p.150.

## Chapter Four

### *Monastic Houses and the Laity*

#### I. Sources

The extant records for Scotland's monasteries are not as extensive as one would desire. Not one monastic archive or library remains intact, while for some houses, particularly the smaller or more remote foundations, scarcely a single document can be found. Those in Lothian are for the most part at the relatively well documented end of this (admittedly narrow) spectrum, although the major exception to this is, as we will see, a particularly unfortunate lacuna.

As in the rest of Britain, and France (at least), property records form the largest class of survival, primarily in the form of cartularies and, towards the end of the period, documents concerning feuing.<sup>1</sup> Cartularies of some sort are extant for Newbattle, Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, Kelso, and Soutra-cum-Trinity College. The cartulary in each case provides the overwhelming majority of documentation for the house in question<sup>2</sup>, although some original documents also survive, in some cases the originals of cartulary copies. The scope of these cartularies, and their usefulness for our purposes, will be discussed presently. Before this we should note the complete absence of any consolidated records for Holyrood Abbey, which has left remarkably little trace of its business. This is both dismaying and surprising in an abbey with such close connections to the monarchy, both historically and, increasingly, physically, as a location of royal power and leisure. There is no cartulary: the Bannatyne Club's *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*<sup>3</sup> is just that, a collection of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. Foulds, 'Medieval Cartularies', *Archives* xxviii (1987-8), p.10.

<sup>2</sup> Before the Reformation, at least.

<sup>3</sup> 1840.



surviving documents: at least a few of these are certainly from among the abbey's own muniments, but these appear to be fortuitous rather than representative survivals.<sup>4</sup>

To return to the available cartularies, two obvious questions arise: for the purposes of considering pious lay interest in the monasteries, what is contained in the cartularies? And how much can be surmised about what was omitted from cartularies, and lost with the other monastic documents?

To answer the first question, the Lothian cartularies must be set in the wider context of this class of document, which has been the object of quite considerable recent study. It has been pointed out that the term 'cartulary' should be applied only to collections of titles to property and rights – *cartae* proper – thus distinguishing the cartulary from a book, such as a 'register', of notes and documents relating to more varied rights and less permanent business concerns.<sup>5</sup> There is some evidence for this as a contemporary usage.<sup>6</sup> The line cannot always be maintained very sharply: it is clear that the Kelso cartulary, for example, was indeed conceived as a monument to the rights and holdings of the abbey, but this project included material other than charters which illustrated the current state of those rights.<sup>7</sup> The use of a book after its initial compilation may also blur the distinction. However, by 'cartulary' we can certainly indicate a codex containing primarily a deliberate and permanent compilation of property-related documents, as opposed to a book in day to day use for current business, or a book recording some specific class of rights other than property.

The precise purpose of this type of production is nonetheless not as self-evident as one might assume. On the relatively few occasions when

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<sup>4</sup> The endorsement on a charter of Robert II to Abbot David of Holyrood shows that Holyrood held this document: *de domo nostra infra castrum de Edynburgh*. NAS, RH6/181. Another Holyrood charter is endorsed in apparently the same hand, although the text (*carta dauid flennyng*) is non-committal: RH6/203. RH6/224 may also be of Holyrood origin.

<sup>5</sup> Foulds, 'Medieval Cartularies', pp.6-7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> E.g., the proceedings of a session of the abbot's court from 1323. NLS, Adv. MS. 34.5.1 (Cartulary of Kelso Abbey), fo 165v.

some sort of explanatory preamble is included, the factors mentioned are most commonly: either that the house has recently suffered some critical loss of property, reoccurrence of which the new cartulary is intended to prevent; or, more vaguely, to pre-empt the frailties of memory (and vellum?).<sup>8</sup> These are reasonable, but it is not quite clear just how this would work in practice.

In particular, there is some doubt as to the extent to which cartulary copies were actually used in court as if they had legal force, in the apparent absence of much direct evidence of occasions of this.<sup>9</sup> Constance Bouchard's (slightly more perilous) argument *a priori* notes that the original documents were *ipso facto* extant at the time of a cartulary's creation, and that these originals were probably preferred when legal proof was needed since they carried the authenticating seals. The continuing significance of original survivals is demonstrated by a note added to a copy of a charter of 1350 in the Newbattle cartulary: 'This letter [was] intact and whole in both letter and seal, A[D 1]450'.<sup>10</sup> Bouchard also states, however, that cartularies were soon invested with greater authority, such that their relationship to originals was almost reversed in the later middle ages, when for various reasons the cartulary copies could be the only ones available.<sup>11</sup> The need for physical preservation of texts for legal purposes thus became important, whatever the degree to which this had been planned in the beginning.

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<sup>8</sup> Foulds, 'Medieval Cartularies', p.22. The cartulary of St Giles' church, Edinburgh, has a preamble of the latter type (see Chapter Five).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p.33 and n.25.

<sup>10</sup> *Hac littera sana et integra tam in littera quam sigill' anno &c cccc<sup>o</sup> l<sup>o</sup>*: NLS, Adv. MS. 34.4.13, Cartulary of Newbattle Abbey, fo 8r (cf. 43v, a copy of the same charter, dated 1452). A possible case of the use of original documents to resolve a dispute is found in 1367 when the earl of Dunbar acknowledged that Coldingham Priory did not owe him rent on certain lands: 'Tandem inspectis munimentis ac cartis dictorum religiosorum super donacione dictarum villarum de Edreham et Nesbyt comperimus et sana mente euidenter percepimus dictas villas de Edreham et Nesbut a nostris predecessores eisdem religiosis viris donatas in puram et perpetuam elemosinam...', RRS vi.379.

<sup>11</sup> C. B. Bouchard, 'Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity', in A.J. Kosto and A. Winroth, eds, *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, Proceedings of Colloquium of the Commission Internationale de Diplomatique (Princeton and New York, 16-18 September 1999), *Papers in Medieval Studies* 17 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), pp.26-7, 32.



However, as Bouchard points out, it is most likely that cartularies were intended primarily for internal use in a monastery, and indeed some examples insist that only monks of the house may view them. It is thus the arrangement of the material, as opposed to its simple existence, which is most significant.<sup>12</sup> Certainly the documents in cartularies are often arranged carefully and sometimes elaborately, Lothian cartularies, as we will see, providing good examples. This was usually geographical by property, and to some extent thematic by subject or document type (papal bulls, for example, were frequently distinguished). Such ordering clearly has a pragmatic function relating directly to practical property management or legal action: good arrangement makes the records clearer, easier to keep up to date, and more accessible, either within the book or (occasionally) by acting as a guide to the archive itself.<sup>13</sup> This use also shades into the function of solidifying the house's memory in a more essential sense. The air of timelessness often so irritating to historians – dates and witnesses arbitrarily omitted – makes most sense, as Bouchard argues, when seen as the compiler's desired effect. This record was not of history, but of the border of eternity: of lands which had become absolutely the property of the house and its patron saints, and would remain so *in perpetuum*, until Judgement Day.<sup>14</sup> The business of monastic acquisition was, to use an anachronistic metaphor, regarded as digital rather than analogue, a perception demonstrated by the passionately uncompromising attitude sometimes found towards the preservation of one's patron saint's inalienable rights. (Jocelin of Brakelond and Anselm of Canterbury are perhaps the most famous English examples; no such figures stand out in Scotland, but it seems unlikely that such feeling was unrepresented.) A collection like a cartulary brought historical documents

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p.27; Foulds, 'Medieval Cartularies', p.22.

<sup>13</sup> D. Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey (Oxford, 1971), pp.134-5, 139-40; Bouchard, 'Monastic Cartularies', p.27-9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* pp.29-31.

into a timeless space, reinforcing 'the identity of the house as a landholding institution'.<sup>15</sup>

In a post-crisis context, in which cartularies were often produced, both the pragmatic and the quasi-mystical aspects of this reinforcement are evidently potentially useful. The consolidation of records might prepare the way for legal action to recover lost ground; future losses should at any rate be less likely if property was monitored more closely. For example, the Newbattle cartulary includes notes of the changed values of properties such as those in war-ravaged Berwick, which suggest an effort to keep careful track of the holdings most vulnerable to both devaluation and occupation. And, although there is no plain evidence for this, it would seem likely that a more exalted concept of property-holding would strengthen resolve to regain and maintain property.

The heavenly aspect of monastic property-holding is perhaps reflected in a sense of mystery which sometimes became attached to the knowledge contained in a cartulary. Some cartularies have preambles which emphasise the power of their contents, and the importance of protecting the book, to a degree which goes beyond pragmatic caution. These are potentially problematic: at least one such example was produced by an abbot who is otherwise known to have squandered his monastery's property, which does not suggest the preamble arose from real reverence.<sup>16</sup> However, the concept of the cartulary's power and value was at least tenable.

The balance between these aspects of the purpose and use of a cartulary certainly varied from compiler to compiler, and, almost as importantly, from user to user. What they combine to make still clearer, however, is that these sources are produced very much by the monastery for the monastery. The laity's relationship with the religious will be reflected in them only partially and perhaps darkly.

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<sup>15</sup> Foulds, 'Medieval Cartularies', p.11.

<sup>16</sup> Foulds, 'Medieval Cartularies', p.22-4.



Let us then place the Lothian cartularies in this context. The cartularies produced at Kelso and Newbattle were both fairly standard compilations. The main body of each contains documents relating to the lands, churches and privileges held by the monastery, from the house's foundation or shortly afterwards, divided up geographically. In the Kelso book the sections are arranged roughly alphabetically; for Newbattle, they are grouped by sheriffdom, and the papal bulls are in their own section. The Kelso book was apparently written by the late 1320s: the latest documents in the main body – which are also almost the last, physically – are dated 1323 and 1327, and the first addition is a treaty of 1327. It is written in a succession of fairly similar hands; compilation may have begun in the late 1310s, as earlier sections of the book have no documents later than 1317, but that is far from conclusive.<sup>17</sup> The Newbattle book was probably written in the early 1340s: its latest charters are from 1339, while the latest entry which is probably original – although it might be an addition – is a memorandum of a court process from 1343.<sup>18</sup> Both of these volumes also contain extensive additions of the later fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The extant Dryburgh cartulary is more problematic: it is a sixteenth-century paper manuscript, which, as its Bannatyne Club editor suggests, appears to be a copy of an earlier cartulary. The original of this copy was perhaps incomplete, as the numbering of the documents suggests. It is also possible that a second volume of the paper manuscript has been lost, for the text ends, in the middle of a sentence, precisely at the bottom of the recto of the last folio; a large arrow is drawn in the lower margin, a striking feature in

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<sup>17</sup> NLS, Adv. MS. 34.5.1, Cartulary of Kelso Abbey, fos 165v, 171r, 171v. The hands are quite cursive 'Anglicana Formata' by Malcolm Parkes' classification, consistent with an early- to mid-fourteenth-century date, but I cannot narrow this down further. (English developments are probably still relevant at this point, although caution must be used: cf. G.G. Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting 1150-1650* (East Linton, 1998), pp.5-6.) Kelso's cartulary is published in *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: Registrum Cartarum Abbacie Tironensis de Kelso 1113-1567*, 2 vols, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1846) [*Kelso Lib.*].

<sup>18</sup> NLS, Adv. MS. 34.4.13, Cartulary of Newbattle Abbey. Printed as *Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle: Abbacie Cisterciensis Beate Virginis de Neubottle Chartarium Vetus: Accedit Appendix Cartarum Originalium: 1140-1528* (Bannatyne Club, 1869) [*Newbattle Reg.*].

an otherwise unannotated manuscript.<sup>19</sup> This suggests a deliberate break rather than the end of the exemplar. This putative second volume may not have existed, for the copying project certainly remained incomplete to some extent: the large initials were never filled in. There is unfortunately no organisational apparatus such as a *Tabula* or running headers to clarify the arrangement of this compilation. However, it seems from the content that the main part (to no 233 in the published edition<sup>20</sup>) is divided, somewhat approximately, into geographical sections. This is followed by some royal and episcopal confirmations, and a collection of papal bulls (to no 281). None of these documents appear to be later than c.1300. The remainder of the documents are yet more approximately grouped by geography – the arrangement is unclear because there are fewer per locality – and are mostly from the 1320s, although some are much earlier. From this ordering, it appears likely that there was a cartulary compiled at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, covering a large quantity of property records and concluding with a section of papal bulls (the same arrangement as the Newbattle cartulary). The rest of the material may have been additions to this cartulary, or could have been copied straight from the originals in the sixteenth century.

The Soutra and Cambuskenneth cartularies are not, strictly speaking, cartularies at all. Both are properly collections of authenticated transcripts. Copies of documents or records of agreements and actions, with authentication (*signa*, signatures, seals) that ensured legal strength, might be obtained from various authorities: these included a public notary, ecclesiastical courts, the king (via a confirmation enrolled in the Great Seal Register), or, by the time of Cambuskenneth's compilation, the Lords of Council.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> NLS, Adv. MS. 34.4.7, Cartulary of Dryburgh Abbey.

<sup>20</sup> *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh: Registrum cartarum abbacie Premonstratensis de Dryburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1847) [*Dryburgh Lib.*].

<sup>21</sup> *Acts of the Lords of Council* vol. iii, 1501-1503, ed. A.B. Calderwood, intro. A.L. Murray (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.xxiv-xxvii.



The Soutra book is a collection of fifty-nine documents copied by a notary at the master's request in February 1400, accompanied by a notarial instrument listing the documents. There is little sign of arrangement within the book, either geographical or chronological, although in a short volume – only twenty-seven folios – this would perhaps be of less concern in the first place. The notarial instrument narrates nothing to explain the transcription beyond the fact that the master handed the originals over to the notary. The majority of the documents are twelfth- and thirteenth-century, so preservation of decaying originals may well be the issue here.<sup>22</sup> Its contents are certainly within the subject matter of a true cartulary: very nearly all are grants of property or churches, or confirmations thereof.

The Cambuskenneth book *looks* rather more like a cartulary. It is an impressive volume, including illumination at the beginning and end. It is arranged into geographical sections, which are arranged alphabetically. Yet its immediate purpose was apparently not codification or arrangement as such, but preservation. It is prefaced by a narrative of how, in 1535, Abbot Alexander Myln went before the king and council to explain the decayed state of the abbey's muniments in the damp environs of the upper Forth. He asked that copies be made and witnessed by the lords of council, with the intention that 'the same degree and type of faith should be given to such a transumpt, as to the original charters and evidences', 'as if they were each recorded in the act[s] of our [James V's] said council'.<sup>23</sup> This was done: each copy is authenticated by the clerk register, and it was sealed with the Great Seal.<sup>24</sup> Here, then, we have a rare explicit statement that the copies were made chiefly for purposes of preservation, and that they would have legal validity.

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<sup>22</sup> NLS, Adv. MS. 34.4.1. Notarial instruments at fos 25r-v. Contents printed in *Registrum Domus de Soltre ... Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, and other collegiate churches in Mid-Lothian* (Bannatyne Club, 1861) [Midl. Chrs]. A transcription of the transcription was made in 1516 for the Provost of Trinity College; *ibid.* p.viii.

<sup>23</sup> *Cambusk. Reg.* pp.2-3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* pp. vi-ix. The Seal is now missing but was still there when Father Hay saw the manuscript: *ibid.* p.ix; Father Hay's 'Scotia Sacra', NLS, Adv. MS. 34.1.8, p.511.

What then can these collections say about lay interest in monasteries? From the general character of the cartulary as a document type, it is evident that laymen will usually appear only when they have granted property or privileges. It must also be noted that the great majority of the landed property of these houses was built up in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, (although the main periods of church acquisition differ from house to house). This is likely to be problematic for the later period: if making fairly large grants of land is no longer the usual or optimal manner for the landed classes to form a relationship with a monastery, but the surviving records are largely land-based, then we will simply see less of the laity's involvement. In any case, the main bodies of the cartularies proper are minimal in their coverage of our period. A small number of grants in the fourteenth century are found. For Newbattle, there are twelve eleemosynary grants – new donations made in free alms – for the reigns of Robert I and David II, as opposed to some fifty-nine before 1306. (There are also a few other fourteenth-century documents, including confirmations of earlier grants.) For Kelso, a cartulary written a couple of decades earlier, the number is even lower; only four new eleemosynary grants are recorded for the fourteenth century. And as we have just seen, what was apparently the main body of Dryburgh's early cartulary does not reach past 1300. The later additions found in the Kelso and Newbattle cartularies are fascinating but patchy. They certainly do not represent systematic updating, and rather seem to show widely varying opinions on the use of a cartulary manuscript in the two centuries after its production. Some confirmations and grants are found here, but we must presume that some quantity are not. The considerable generosity of Christian Bisset in the 1350s, for example, is known only through the original documents, none of which were copied in to the cartulary.

The contents of the Cambuskenneth collection, whatever its legal status, are in fact those appropriate to a cartulary, with a somewhat wider range of material added in, particularly for the more recent period. This



includes particularly extensive records of various disputes over fishing rights, a re-allocation of rents to certain altars in the nave, and numerous leases (or grants in feu-ferm) – far from irrelevant, but not core cartulary material. The documents covered go up to 1530; the more recent ones can have had little time to be afflicted by damp, and it appears likely that the opportunity was in fact taken to make a fairly comprehensive compilation. It is not, however, completely so. There are, for example, reallocations of urban rents whose original acquisition is not recorded.<sup>25</sup>

This brings us to the matter of material which is absent, or almost entirely absent, from cartularies. Urban rents form one category of this. In the Cambuskenneth and Newbattle books there are later references to several of these without any record of the original grant.<sup>26</sup> Holyrood also held considerable urban property whose existence is best seen in notaries' protocol books, but whose granters are mostly unrecorded.<sup>27</sup> (It is likely that Holyrood and Cambuskenneth, being closely associated with Edinburgh and Stirling respectively, held more urban property than the border abbeys.)

The most significant losses to historians, however, are the records of smaller-scale grants and, generally, interaction which was not based on property. The general absence of wills is the most obvious problem here. We can come to no conclusions about trends in testamentary bequests from the few extant examples; equally importantly, intended burial places can only be known from chance references. No Scottish monastery has left anything akin to a *Liber Vitae* recording benefactors and confraternity members, nor are there martyrologies or calendars listing anniversaries to be celebrated. The closest survivals are a breviary and a calendar fragment relating to Coldingham, which have a few fourteenth-century anniversaries, but these pertain largely to kings, bishops, and monks of Durham.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Cambusk. Reg.* no 214.

<sup>26</sup> See previous note; *Newbattle Reg.* nos 287, 289, 298.

<sup>27</sup> Especially *The Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515* (SRS, 1952), *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> British Library, Harley MSS 4664 and 4747.

Tantalisingly, there is also a high likelihood that a Newbattle necrology was extant as recently as the early eighteenth century. Father Richard Augustine Hay cites it in two places: although he is often considered an unreliable historian, he does cite real sources (his synthesis and unattributed material is more problematic), and he certainly had access to Newbattle documents. The Newbattle cartulary itself found its way to the Advocates' Library after he had borrowed it from Newbattle Abbey (the stately house) and it was rescued from among his papers in France (according to a cutting from the *Scotsman* now bound with the manuscript, Adv. MS 34.4.13). It seems quite possible that another manuscript might have had a less happy end. Hay copies the anniversaries of three Sinclairs, which include notes of their benefactions to the abbey. It is unfortunate that he did not look beyond his family connections here. What is preserved in his notes are valuable examples, but must have been few among many.

## II. Grants to monasteries in the later middle ages

The most noticeable characteristic of known grants to monasteries in this period is the extent to which they take place within an established long-term context. If we take Newbattle's case, we find twelve grants which build on, or directly augment, previous generations' involvement. Thus, for example, David Lindsay of Crawford granted in 1327 that the monks might hold their lands in Crawford – granted by his forebears in William I and Alexander II's reigns – with baronial jurisdiction.<sup>29</sup> He also granted more extensive lands, on the revenues of which the monks were to serve and maintain Lindsay's chapels at Crawford and Byres. The monks already performed spiritual services for the family: they were responsible for distributing £20 annually in memory of Lady Margaret Lindsay, Sir David's

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<sup>29</sup> *Newbattle Reg.* nos 149, 150, 138-41; cf Grant, 'The Higher Nobility in Scotland and their Estates', p.145, on the grant in barony.



grandmother.<sup>30</sup> Sir David's grants of privilege and land therefore furthered a rich set of spiritual and economic connections, adding responsibility for the family's private worship spaces to an association begun some six generations earlier. Few families, as far as can be seen, retained such a complex relationship. A simpler and perhaps more typical connection is found in Sir Simon Lockhart of Lee. Newbattle had owed his family a £10 annual rent for Kinnaird since Alexander II's time; but in 1339, Sir Simon, reportedly in consideration of the monastery's war damage, remitted five merks (one third) of the rent.<sup>31</sup> To cases such as these we may add five confirmations of earlier grants.

Nine grants to Newbattle in this period are apparently new: that is, there is no evidence that the donor's family had an earlier material involvement with the monasteries. Yet among these there are instances of less direct association, which set the grant in context. In early 1330 Sir James Douglas, in preparation for his journey to take Robert Bruce's heart on Crusade, made an unusual grant to Newbattle in honour of St Bridget. No previous Douglasses are known to have made grants to the abbey. However, Sir James's grant here is associated with a different family: he granted half the land of *Kulmad*, the other half of which had been granted to them by Sir Roger de Quincy, and which 'they could not enjoy quit unless James made them that gracious gift.'<sup>32</sup> A land unit shared with the abbey thus informed the substance of the grant, if no more can be said with confidence. Other cases may be comparable. The grant of patronage of Masterton church of Robert I in conjunction with the de Ross heiresses in 1320 (upon whose initiative is unclear) is perhaps similarly informed, given that Masterton was right next to the abbey itself.<sup>33</sup> A grant by Patrick Ramsay of Dalhousie, also not known to have a family history with Newbattle, is of land next to a piece

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<sup>30</sup> *Newbattle Reg.* no 174.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* nos 213-15.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* no 134.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* nos 53-8.

of the Newbattle estate.<sup>34</sup> Where new grants coincide with locality, the voluntary relationship of patronage augments the barer connection of neighbourhood.

Cambuskenneth, Kelso, Holyrood and Dryburgh present approximately similar pictures. It is positively difficult to find new grants in their cartularies and muniments; they are more than equalled by augmentations and confirmations, or existing landed connections. Colin Campbell of Tillicoultry thus granted ten acres in Tillicoultry to Cambuskenneth (plus a pair of oxen for his lifetime): this is the first Campbell appearance in the existing Cambuskenneth collection, but Tillicoultry church had been appropriated to Cambuskenneth by William I. The abbey was thus the rector of his parish church.<sup>35</sup> An unusual case of a spiritual relationship within an economic one is seen in 1399 when David Fleming of Cumbernauld makes detailed arrangements with Holyrood Abbey to found an altar and be buried there, which does not seem to follow from any known (or likely) Fleming interest in Holyrood. It is at least interesting, then, that Fleming and his father had earlier acquired a financial relationship with the abbey in a rather roundabout manner: they were granted royal pensions, payable to them by Holyrood out of a rent due from the abbey to the crown. Fleming's grants to the abbey are, indeed, simply remissions of this rent.<sup>36</sup>

These low numbers of entirely new grants are based on incomplete evidence, as discussed at length above, but are probably not a misleading overall picture. There is a reasonably extensive collection of original documents for Newbattle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>37</sup>: although there are some new grants, there is no abundance of them. It does not disrupt the impression that the monasteries' property transactions were

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* no 275 (early 1350s?).

<sup>35</sup> *Cambusk. Reg.* nos 220-23.

<sup>36</sup> *Holyrood Lib.* nos 107-9, App. II nos 15, 17 (RMS i.833, 807). NLS, Fleming of Wigtown charters, Ch. 15546.

<sup>37</sup> Within NAS, Lothian Muniments, GD40/1.



largely with families with whom they had been dealing for generations, or with people with whose land they had been concerned for just as long.

As already stated, however, this is not particularly surprising. Large land grants were not the currency of charity in the later middle ages. More gifts were probably more focussed endowments of prayer and commemoration: grants for chantries, temporary and permanent; anniversaries; testamentary bequests; material goods which served as a monument to the donor while in use. These are the sorts of gift which are not well represented in surviving documentation. And as Benjamin Thompson has observed with regard to English monasteries, monasteries were now in a far more competitive 'market' for such patronage, and were no longer the obvious objects of charity on the part of laymen.<sup>38</sup> The few donations that are known do give some idea of what greater noblemen might still donate.

James (I) Douglas of Dalkeith made bequests to Kelso and Newbattle in his testament of 1390-92. To Kelso he left £20. To Newbattle, his intended burial place, went a varied selection: his third-best horse; £10, with the specific request that the monks should pray for his soul; a ring worth 40 marks (which they had the option of selling); and twelve silver dishes for use in the refectory. These last came with an injunction to his heirs to make sure that the dishes were not stolen or shifted to some other use. This was not mere prudence: to have objects associated with him in regular use within the monastery was another route to ensuring that he was remembered and commemorated. Writing oneself into the monks' daily lives at a domestic besides a liturgical level is possibly the only distinctive form of commemoration in a monastery as compared to any other church.

The fifteenth-century Sinclair gifts to Newbattle which Hay records are on a larger scale than this bequest; these are apparently *summae* of everything the individuals in question had granted (or bequeathed?).

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<sup>38</sup> B. Thompson, 'Monasteries, Society and Reform in Late Medieval England', in James G. Clark, ed., *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion xviii (Woodbridge, 2002), esp. pp.168-171, 175-181.

Williams Sinclair, kt, reportedly endowed ('a long time before he died') a little chapel (*casulam*) for celebrating a weekly mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin; a little gilt chalice; 10s annual rent for buying nuts (*nucibus*) on St Valentine's eve; and 'many other goods'; for all of which an annual requiem mass was to be said for him, with a pittance to be given to the monks on the day of his obit. The pittance – a small sum of money, or augmentation of food, to each monk – was again a means to encourage individual prayers for the donor. The gift of liturgical equipment like chalices, apart from being an obvious means to 'augment the worship of God', might similarly serve to recall the giver when it was used in celebration of the mass. Countess Egidia's extensive gifts, apparently accompanied, as noted earlier, by her own retirement to the monastery, cover the full spectrum. There is bed-linen (possibly intended for conversion to liturgical use); books, one of which, a fine missal, is to be used in the daily celebration of mass; and £200 'and more'; all of which is to provide, *pro cuius anime remedio*, bread and wine for mass, an annual pittance to the convent and to paupers at the gate, and annual masses and psalters (as described earlier) to be said by every monk.<sup>39</sup> Finally, the gifts of Earl Henry, Egidia's husband, included a silver crucifix (worth some fifty pounds) and unspecified books, which were to be rewarded with commemoration upon his obit, including the use of 12s to augment the monk's repast that day.<sup>40</sup>

How many more such gifts were made is naturally unquantifiable. Among the few extant testaments from Lothian, and indeed Scotland, there is a notable absence of bequests to monasteries. The only one is Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath, (Earl William Sinclair's father-in-law, who requested burial at Roslin): he asked for trentals at the northern houses of Fearn and Kinloss in his testament of 1456, and endowed a daily mass at Fearn.<sup>41</sup> A surprising mention of monks is found in the testament of James

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<sup>39</sup> Hay's 'Scotia Sacra', NLS, Adv. MS 34.1.8, p.592.

<sup>40</sup> Hay, *Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyne*, p.58.

<sup>41</sup> *Bannatyne Miscellany* iii, p.93ff.



Dunbar of Derchester, made in 1481. Dunbar seems to have been a man of the earl of Morton, and requested burial in Dalkeith collegiate church: his funeral arrangements include a bequest for 'sacerdotibus et monachis et pueris portantibus luminaria coram me in die sepulture mee', which is not accompanied by any other reference to a monastery.<sup>42</sup> It is difficult to know what to make of this. Records from the Edinburgh Commissary Court are not extant until the sixteenth century: the earliest volume has (later) copies of nineteen testaments between 1514 and 1532. None of these has any reference to monks or monasteries.<sup>43</sup> This is not surprising in the cases of the several burgesses, but three are for members of older landed families: Sir Adam Hepburn of Craggis (proved 20<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1514), John Sinclair of Herdmanston (proved 1<sup>st</sup> Jan. 1515), and Elizabeth Hamilton, countess of Crawford (made ?11<sup>th</sup> March 1517).<sup>44</sup> They too concentrate entirely on parish churches and friaries.

This is not a representative sample in any sense, but does seem to confirm the importance of parish and local churches as the primary spiritual port of call. However, it would be very surprising if there did not continue to be some level of gift-giving to monasteries in some families. In England it tended (to generalise greatly) to be older noble families who retained connections with local monasteries, and who continued to make them gifts and bequests.<sup>45</sup> The Sinclairs fit this description; Douglas of Dalkeith, whose great wealth was more recent, somewhat less so. They were certainly both

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<sup>42</sup> NAS, RH9/8/1.

<sup>43</sup> NAS, CC8/8/1A, now only accessible via digital facsimile at [www.scottishdocuments.com](http://www.scottishdocuments.com) [as of December 2003].

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* nos 2, 12, 4. Elizabeth Hamilton's testament is indexed as having been proved in February 1514, but this would seem to be a confusion with no.3, which was made and proved in February 1514/15.

<sup>45</sup> Andrew Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550* (Oxford, 1995), pp.30-32; P.W. Fleming, 'Charity, Faith, and the Gentry of Kent 1422-1529', in *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History*, ed. T. Pollard (Gloucester, 1984), pp.48-9. Joel Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise* shows that the peerage retained some interest in founding monastic houses in the fourteenth century, pp.54-7; that up to a third of chantry foundations were in regular houses, particularly Augustinian, but with a considerable fall in the fifteenth century, pp.32-7; and most prominently were still often buried in regular houses (particularly Benedictine and Augustinian), pp.82-4.

near neighbours of Newbattle, but this may well be a coincidence of evidential survival.

An implication of such gifts which should not be ignored is the visual connection established between an abbey and its donors. As said, ornaments, utensils and books on the altars prompted recollection of the givers for the monks who knew who had provided them, although this depended on such information being transmitted along with liturgical requirements. It is also highly probable that coats of arms were a significant element in the decorative schemes of any utensils, vestments, windows or building-work commissioned by lay donors. An occasion of this is found in 1399 when Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, endowing St Nicholas's altar in Holyrood abbey church, his intended burial place, specified that his arms should be put in the windows of the aisle.<sup>46</sup> This is the only documented use of arms, but it is most unlikely that it was the only one.<sup>47</sup> The more recent decoration of monastic churches – and in southern Scotland, the almost continuous rebuilding required in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries lent plenty of opportunity for this – and liturgical furniture might therefore provide a strong awareness of recent lay donors in the church. This is a probability which can only be noted, however, as there is no evidence of how it worked in practice.

### III. Spiritual benefits

#### i. Problematic grants *pro salute animarum*

The preponderant visibility of laymen whose families or lands have long-term connections with monasteries gives rise to a perplexing aspect of

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<sup>46</sup> Holyrood Lib. nos 108-9.

<sup>47</sup> Compare northern England: J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp.13-15.



the laity's relationship to monasteries in this period – or rather, this relationship as seen in documents. This is an apparent confusion at times between spiritual and economic relationships. The two spheres were of course scarcely disconnected, even where there was no whiff of simony. Spiritual fruits were seen as the quite natural return for material support of the religious, which was a meritorious work; where masses were founded or material objects given, the merit lay in the increase of divine worship funded or allowed by such gifts, which covered the expenses of a priest or furnished an altar. However, there are occasions where one wonders whence the *salus anime* intended is meant to arise. *Pro salute anime* clauses are so prevalent in documents concerning monastic property that to some extent it seems to be a stock phrase used simply because ecclesiastical property is at stake. In particular, confirmations and grants which were not made upon the donor's own initiative, but may result from a dispute or from pressure on the abbot's part, often include a *pro salute anime* clause which can hardly be read as an illustration of personal faith in monastic spirituality.

In the Newbattle cartulary, for example, folios were added in 1470 to copy charters and instruments concerning the properties which Abbot Patrick had managed to regain in the last ten years.<sup>48</sup> Two of these include *pro salute anime* clauses, and indeed read simply as free grants, yet must in fact have been given with the encouragement, or even pressure, of the abbot.<sup>49</sup> In some cases, grants were apparently solicited on the ground of the abbey's particular need. Such is a partial remission of rent to Newbattle allowed by Sir Simon Lockhart of Lee in 1339 (see below): in the charter Simon notes that the abbey had been greatly oppressed by war, and it seems highly likely that the remission arose from a plea by the abbey on account of difficulty in paying the rent. This was done *pro salute animarum*, and could certainly be regarded as a charitable act. But this reading scarcely seems to be open to some resignations, including two by successive lords of Ogilvy to

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<sup>48</sup> NLS, Adv. MS 34.4.13, fos 72r-82r, printed in *Newbattle Reg.* at nos 286-302.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 287-90.

Holyrood abbey that were *pro salute animarum*, but seem to have been made very much on the abbot's own terms. In 1386 Beatrix de Bosco (Wood?), in her widowhood, resigned all right and claim to certain lands in Ogilvy barony<sup>50</sup> to her overlord the abbot of Holyrood, *pro salute animarum* of herself, father, mother, ancestors and successors, to be held in alms for suffrages of prayers. The resignation included stringent denials of her or her heirs' right to attempt to reclaim the land.<sup>51</sup> Here the abbey is, at the least, asserting its rights as landlord, so that Beatrix and heirs cannot claim any right to the land on the grounds that they held it in the past [novel dissasine??]. It might indeed result from a particular dispute. What is curious is that an almost identical resignation was made by John Moray (*de Moravia*) of Ogilvy eighteen years later, in 1404. The lands and the *pro salute animarum* clause are the same; the only difference is that the resignation is still more fervent, covering all right which he or his parents or predecessors had in the lands, and confirming all 'gifts, grants, writs and evidences' given to Holyrood by his father, mother and predecessors. Whether he had been granted these lands on a short-term basis, or whether he had reoccupied them illicitly, is not specified; but the endorsement on the document states that the resignation was made at the abbot's instance, not his own.<sup>52</sup> (Oddly, a later resignation of other lands in Ogilvy has no mention of the soul or of spiritual services.<sup>53</sup>)

The only sense in which these could be spiritually meritorious is presumably the rather minimal fact of having (eventually) done something technically in favour of a religious corporation. Indeed, in one case, which is clearly the end of a dispute, this is precisely what is claimed. In May 1367, Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, gave up a claim to a rent in kind – felted boots

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<sup>50</sup> The lands are described in this resignation as being in the barony of Ogilvy, sheriffdom of Edinburgh, although Alexander Grant does not identify this as a barony. 'The Higher Nobility in Scotland and their Estates', pp.364-5. In 1404 it is simply called a lordship (see below).

<sup>51</sup> *Holyrood Lib.* no 104.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* no 117 (the endorsement is not printed). Original is at NAS, RH6/224.

<sup>53</sup> *Holyrood Lib.* nos 118-9 (1426-7).



and sheepskin (*vno pare botarum feltatarum ... vno pellicio de pellibus ouinis*)-payable on the land of Edrom by the monks of Coldingham. His claim had been disproved by the production of old Durham muniments. This resignation is preceded by a preamble: 'Among the works of piety and mercy, we consider it outstanding to support religious men in their gifts and privileges granted by faithful men...', which is surely a remarkably flattering (even ironic?) description of Earl Patrick's behaviour.<sup>54</sup>

If that is a rather extravagant reading of the donor-monastery relationship, there are other times when fairly non-specific spiritual services are more soberly reckoned as meaningful. One such is an earlier confirmation of the same earl. An unusual and insistent variant upon the *pro salute animarum* clause is used in a 1327 grant to Coldingham of permission to construct a water conduit on his land of Edrom. This states that the grant is made 'that they [the monks] may be more straitly and specially bound (*ut artius et specialius tenentur*) to pray for me and Agnes my wife, for the souls of my father and mother, and for the souls of all my ancestors and successors.'<sup>55</sup> Very particular prayers are apparently expected to result from this. The reality of spiritual services also seems to be the assumption behind a rare occasion of their remission. To return to Abbot Patrick of Newbattle's efforts of the 1460s: one of the agreements made was with Alan Lockhart of Lee, whose ancestor Sir Simon had remitted to the abbey (*pro salute anime...*) five merks of a £10 annual rent due to him from the land of Kinnaird.<sup>56</sup> Sir Alan now (5<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1467) sold the remaining ten merk rent to the abbey for 280 merks. It was specified that the rent was now held in feu and heritage, 'rendering nothing annually, service neither secular nor spiritual'.<sup>57</sup> While this was no doubt intended primarily as a catch-all phrase to emphasise that the abbey had nothing more to pay, and it is true that no specific spiritual

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<sup>54</sup> James Raine, *The History and Antiquities of North Durham* (London, 1852), Appendix, no cxlii.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, no cxli.

<sup>56</sup> *Newbattle Reg.* no 215 (1<sup>st</sup> April, 1339).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* no.296.

services had been requested by Sir Simon, it would seem to imply that any good done to the Lockharts by that gift to the abbey is now at an end – that the spiritual relationship depended on the material relationship with a precise equivalence.

This attitude to property and prayer service in a Scottish context quite closely reflects those represented in England. As Benjamin Thompson notes, in discussing grants to both a secular college and a house of canons, '[t]he form of these and many other charters indicates that late medieval donors thought of the property which they gave to the church as encumbered with services of a spiritual nature, which were analogous to secular services and legally enforceable.'<sup>58</sup> Compare the opinion offered by one English monk, Uthred of Boldon (d.1396), a monk of Durham who had a twenty-year career in Oxford. He was involved in academic controversy in the 1360s over some of his theological views, which were found to be unorthodox.<sup>59</sup> He also, however, wrote staunchly against mendicants (and, later, Wyclif) who argued that the Church should not hold property, including a treatise opposing those who advocated the removal of endowments from religious houses there and then. Uthred's arguments pointed out that gifts to religious houses are in fact made to God, who cannot forfeit ownership; that such gifts became sanctified and could not return to secular use; and, most interestingly, "that the donor had received a *quid pro quo* in the form of spiritual benefits, and that therefore the transaction is complete and irrevocable."<sup>60</sup> However, in Scotland the legal status of land held in alms and the spiritual services due on it do not seem to have been as clearly defined as they were in England, although this matter probably requires further

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<sup>58</sup> B. Thompson, 'Habendum et Tenendum: Lay and Ecclesiastical Attitudes to the Property of the Church', in Christopher Harper-Bill, ed., *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 3 (Woodbridge, 1991), pp.197-238, at p.198.

<sup>59</sup> David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. ii (Cambridge, 1961), pp.48-54. Uthred was once described as a Scot, but Knowles suggests that this was probably an insult based on his northern English origins (p.49 n.1).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* pp.66-7.



investigation.<sup>61</sup> It is therefore interesting that a similar mentality seems to have developed in Scotland, and in large part this looks like it is connected to the rise of the notion of Purgatory coupled with the loss of monasticism's glamour. As Thompson says, 'Between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries... lay patrons' concern shifted from the quality of the lives of those who performed spiritual activities, to the activities themselves. They came to see them as services, owed in return for continued tenure of the original grant.'<sup>62</sup> Whatever the condition of Scottish law on the subject, these remarks very accurately describe Scottish attitudes as witnessed to in the charters.

There is nothing in these issues which necessarily relates to monastic rather than any other churches. They are simply visible here, in this period, because there is a greater preponderance of property transactions which concern free alms and are for the good of souls or general spiritual services, while they are not apparently independently-intended alms deeds as such. If it is difficult to separate devotion in collegiate churches from issues of personal and familial status, or worship in an urban parish church from the ordering of local hierarchies, then it is perhaps tenure and landed interests which are inextricably bound up with monastic churches.

Clarity of thought about what would result from a grant to a monastery presumably varied from donor to donor. Where particular services are specified, individual commemoration and a share in the fruits of the mass seem to have been considered as important within the monastery church as elsewhere; as mentioned with regard to confraternity, this is perhaps a change in the nature of the spiritual benefits expected from the religious as compared to the period of the monasteries' foundation and growth. However, in the cases of confirmations and augmentations made by later generations, spiritual benefits may scarcely have been considered apart

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<sup>61</sup> Isabel A. Milne, 'Heritable Rights: the early feudal tenures', in *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, Stair Society (Edinburgh, 1958), p.152-3; Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', pp.208-214.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* p.213.

from as a facet of alms tenure. At the same time, the potential opportunities in an existing tenorial relationship to extend works of mercy and seek further prayers and services might also be taken up with enthusiasm, whether upon the initiative of the layman or the monastery.

## ii. Burial and confraternity

The most direct means to approach the benefits of monasticism, short of assuming the habit, was to be received into confraternity with a religious house. Admittance to confraternity was spiritual incorporation into the convent of the house. It provided general benefit from the prayers and merits of the monks, possibly benefit from certain services performed specifically for confraternity members, and commemoration after death as for a brother of the house.<sup>63</sup> The fullest description of benefits from a Scottish source is found in a letter of confraternity issued by the abbot of Kelso in 1403, which states:

we receive you freely unto each and every suffrage of our masses and prayers by tenor of the present [letters], equally in life and death, granting you full participation, as far as it pleases God, in all our spiritual goods which the mercy of the Saviour deigns to work through us; adding moreover, by special grace, that when your death is announced in our chapter, along with presentation of the present [letters], everything will be done for you just as is accustomed to be done for our recommended dead brethren, friends and benefactors of our order.<sup>64</sup>

Again, no more than an anecdotal impression can be gained of lay interest in such benefits for the Lothian abbeys. Some charters of donation

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<sup>63</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Unions and Confraternity with Cluny', *JEH* 16 (1965), pp.168-9. This is concerned with Cluny in the eleventh century, but the basic principle remained the same over time in all orders. Compare also the agreement between Durham Priory and Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, the provisions of which included that the convent would 'feed one pauper daily for the king and queen while they live...': *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Stevenson (Surtees Society, 1841), p.73.

<sup>64</sup> ...vos g[raciose] [?] ad universa & singula missarumstrarum & oracionum suffragia recipimus tenore presentium in vita pariter & in morte Plenam participationem vobis bonorum omnium spiritualium quatenus deo placuerit concedendo . que per nos operari dignabitur clemencia salvatoris . Adiacentes insuper de gracia speciali ut cum obitus vester una cum representatione presentium in nostro capitulo fuerit nunciatus . pro vobis fiat per totum . sicut pro nostris fratribus amicis & benefactoribus ordinis nostri defunctis recommendatis fieri cunsuevit... 24<sup>th</sup> Nov., 1403. Kelso Lib. no 555 (NLS, Adv. MS. 34.5.1, fo 192v).



specify that the donor will receive confraternity – eleven of these are known for Kelso, Newbattle, Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, dating from the twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>65</sup> However, this is most unlikely to be representative even for the earlier period, since confraternity was not necessarily directly connected to a specific grant. The record of those received into confraternity would not be kept in a general cartulary, but in two specialised documents. A *Liber Vitae* or confraternity book – not necessarily the same thing – recorded the names of those received, while the necrology or martyrology recorded obits to be commemorated, which would include members of the confraternity.<sup>66</sup> No such records, as already noted, have survived for any Scottish monasteries. We must assume that more people in late medieval Lothian were *confratres* than we know. Although confraternity was – in general – probably at its most important in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, significant numbers of people continued to be received into monastic confraternity in later centuries.<sup>67</sup> It may, however, be worth recalling that Scotland had an unusually low proportion of ancient Benedictine or Cluniac monasteries, and rather more houses of reformed orders like the Cistercians dating from the twelfth century. The Cistercians were less dedicated to forming individual relationships of commemoration with laymen – all their commemorations were celebrated on only two days in the calendar, for example.<sup>68</sup> In the long view, confraternity perhaps had in Scotland a somewhat shorter and thinner history as a means of establishing relations with the religious. Whether this made any difference at all by the beginning of the fourteenth century is not ascertainable. It is worth noting

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<sup>65</sup> *Kelso Lib.* nos. 168 (1279x1309), 245, 274 (s.xii), 283-4 (1245-6), 362-3; *Newbattle Reg.* no 195 (mid/late s.xiii? cf. no.203); *Dryburgh Lib.* nos 311, 312 (?1340s); *Cambusk. Reg.* no 104 (1200x1209).

<sup>66</sup> Cowdrey, 'Unions and Confraternity with Cluny', p.159.

<sup>67</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Legal Problems Raised by Agreements of Confraternity', in *Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, Münsterche Mittelalter-Schriften 48 (Munich, 1984), pp.233-4. My thanks to Dr Emilia Jamroziak for this reference.

<sup>68</sup> Joachim Wollasch, 'Die mittelalterliche Lebensform der Verbrüderung', in *Memoria*, ed. Schmid and Wollasch, pp.229-30.

that the letter of 1403 quoted above is preserved as a form, among various form letters, making a small formulary, copied into the Kelso cartulary – the letter's recipient is identified as 'Lady M. de K.'. The granting of confraternity was an occasion which could be assumed to come up from time to time.

The examples which we can find of confraternity into Lothian monasteries, and for Lothian families, do at least demonstrate something of the variety of relationships which might involve reception into fraternity.

It appears that sometimes the real fraternal spiritual bond created with the convent in question was the outstanding characteristic of confraternity membership. This is suggested in the case of Lady Christian Bisset, who took a close interest in Newbattle abbey in the 1340s and '50s. Christian was the elder daughter and co-heiress of Sir David *Ouioth* or *Ovyot*<sup>69</sup>, and wife to Sir John Bisset. She was married by 1315, widowed by 1338, and still alive in 1357; she was probably dead by 1359 and almost certainly by 1362.<sup>70</sup> She therefore lived for a good twenty years as a mature widow with reasonable landed resources on which to draw. John Bisset had gained the lands of Clerkington, half of Culter, and *Kinbracmund* in Fife from the *Ouioth* lands, and possibly had land of his own; Christian would have had at least a terce of this in her hands. Out of this, Christian granted to Newbattle Abbey the patronage and certain revenues of Clerkington parish church, 5 merks annually from the fermes of the mill of Clerkington, and 2s annual rent due to her by the lord of Dalhousie for the mill-stream of Carrington.<sup>71</sup> The grant of the church is specifically 'ad eorum coquine

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<sup>69</sup> The modern form of this name is Eviot, but medieval sources seem to be consistent in use of initial 'O'. Watt, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Ouioth*; George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning and History* (New York, 1962), s.n. Eviot.

<sup>70</sup> RRS v.426, HMC 6<sup>th</sup> Report (London, 1877), Appendix p.690, no.2 (*Ouioth* inheritance and marriage); *Newbattle Reg.* Appendix no.IX (widowhood); NAS, GD40/1/57 (5<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1357), GD40/1/59 (7<sup>th</sup> April 1359: Walter Bisset confirms his mothers gifts. She is not described as *quondam*, however); RRS vi.269 (John Bisset, Walter's son, is granted Clerkington after his father resigns it, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1362. There is no mention of Christian; one would expect mention of her terce alongside Walter's reservation of liferent were she still alive.)

<sup>71</sup> *Newbattle Reg.* Appendix nos VIII, IX, X; NAS, GD40/1/48, 54.



fulcimentum', for the support of their kitchen. Although no earlier Bisset or *Ouioth* grants to Newbattle are known, Christian's family had certainly had some association with the house, if only because their lands were not far apart. An Alexander *Ouioth* had been a witness to a number of Newbattle's charters in the time of Alexander II.<sup>72</sup> Christian's request for burial, however, shows a far more personal affection:

...Et quia pre aliis locis pia deuocione d[icto] monasterio magis afficior q[ue] soror eiusdem, meam ex nunc eligo ibidem ecclesiasticam sepulturam & quod sepeliar in introitu Capituli Ita quod confratres mei monachi intrando & exeundo tumulum meum valeant subpeditere... (5<sup>th</sup> September, 1357)<sup>73</sup>

It is the use of *confratres* which shows that she was in the confraternity of the house; the concept apparently held quite literal meaning for her, and was not simply a pledge of prayers. A grave at the chapter-house door, to be walked over by 'my brother monks', suggests a wish to remain part of the community and to stir the monks' memories. Perhaps the grant for the support of the monastic kitchen also implies particular interest in the monks' personal well-being. All this may well indicate that involvement with Newbattle was an important element during Christian's long widowhood. It certainly shows confraternity in the context of fairly extensive lay engagement with the monastic life: Christian also brought herself closer to monasticism by supporting it materially, asking for the monks' prayers, and seeking to be buried in a spot frequented by the brethren.

Whether this involvement arose from the conscious intention of becoming a quasi-religious, or a less articulate desire to behave piously, is beyond our grasp. She does seem to have ended up, however, with a keen sense of incorporation into the community. It is comparable to a considerably earlier (early twelfth century) reference to the monks of Cluny by a knight who had just received confraternity: 'dominos, et ut audacter loquar, iam fratres meos monachos Cluniacenses...'.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> *Newbattle Reg.* nos 133, , 144, 146

<sup>73</sup> NAS, GD40/1/57.

<sup>74</sup> Cowdrey, 'Unions and Confraternity with Cluny', p.162.

It is rarely clear who felt such sentiment or how deeply it was felt, but other donors at any rate might have a specific wish for the benefits conveyed by confraternity. This is demonstrated in a rather late example. In September 1522, John Caddir, 'dwelling within the barony of *le monkland*' (Glasgow diocese) granted a 20s annual rent from a tenement in Linlithgow to Newbattle, for the benefit of various named souls,<sup>75</sup> that the monks should pray for them 'according as they pray for their brothers and sisters'. He also asked for an anniversary for himself and his first and second wives.<sup>76</sup> It is not quite clear whether confraternity as such is being requested here, but the package of prayer which accompanied reception into confraternity was apparently recognised by Caddir as a specific and valuable form of spiritual service. Given that it appears in conjunction with the requested anniversary, such prayer's most attractive feature for the donor was here perhaps the guaranteed commemoration by name (in writing, if not liturgy). This is a slightly different emphasis to the notion of incorporation into the monastic community. That confraternity (or at least its concomitant benefits) can be valued on both these counts may explain its continuing appeal in a period when ensuring active aid through purgatory was generally a higher priority than was becoming quasi-monastic.<sup>77</sup>

This shifting focus is illustrated by two other instances. In c.1170, Robert son of Wernebald, and after him his own son Robert, granted the church of Kilmaurs to Kelso abbey. In exchange, the monks 'receperunt me in fraternitate sua . & ego si uitam meam mutare an[te] mortem meam ; per consilium eorum mutabo'. (A promise of a legacy was also given: 'Ubicumque vero mortuus fuero dedi prefate ecclesie de Kelcho duas partes substantie mee que mihi contingit.') Confraternity was thus in this case potentially a prelude to assuming the monastic habit before death: coming as

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<sup>75</sup> James V, John himself, his late wife Alison Weddale and current wife Mariota Crawford, his parents, ancestors and successors, and all the faithful departed.

<sup>76</sup> NAS, GD40/1/79 (6<sup>th</sup> Sept., 1522).

<sup>77</sup> Again, compare Thompson's remarks. '*Habendum et Tenendum*' pp.212-3.



close as possible to the monastic estate.<sup>78</sup> By the end of the next century, in contrast, a grant by Adam de *Roule* and Johanna Wischart his wife of four acres of land in *Molle* (?Mow), made in 1279x1309, is to be rewarded by confraternity and also a weekly mass in the abbey church.<sup>79</sup> As with the Caddir case above, if less markedly so, confraternity appears in the context of the works which will aid the soul through Purgatory. These examples do not prove the point – there are so few records of confraternity that no pattern can emerge – but they are certainly commensurate with other evidence. However, it should also be pointed out that the association of confraternity with corrody could also be seen as retaining a connection between being a *confrater* and being monastic; this will be discussed below.

In other cases it can be seen that a grant of confraternity was within a more earthly context, whatever value was then attached to the subsequent spiritual implications. Confraternity with Durham Priory might be offered to local nobility and higher gentry as a sign of the prior's favour or good will, the latter particularly when good relations with a local magnate (such as the various Nevilles) would be essential to the smooth conduct of local business.<sup>80</sup> This is manifested in southern Scotland during Durham's long drawn out attempts to stave off Dunfermline's claims to Coldingham priory. One of Durham's few victories occurred in 1418-19, when Bishop Wardlaw of St Andrews admitted the Durham candidate as prior; this was obtained with the help of the earls of Douglas and March, the latter of whom was received into confraternity in 1418. Coincidence is unlikely here.<sup>81</sup> Confraternity as reward appears to be found in the grant to David Hume of Wedderburn, a man of the earl of Douglas who was the prior's baillie of Coldingham between 1428 and 1442. In this case, the prior was not particularly dependent upon David Hume as an individual, for Hume's demands could be played

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<sup>78</sup> *Kelso Lib.* nos 283-4. For the date: Cowan, *Parishes*, s.v. 'Kilmaurs'.

<sup>79</sup> *Kelso Lib.* no 168. Date taken from N.F. Shead, 'Syllabus of Scottish Cartularies: Kelso' (2001-2) (copy in N.A.S. catalogue rooms).

<sup>80</sup> R.B. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400-1450* (Cambridge, 1973), pp.130, 174, 188, 195.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* p.319 and n.6.

off against the claims of his nephew, Sir Alexander Hume of Hume, who supplanted him in the post.<sup>82</sup> There seems to be a comparable case, albeit on a much smaller scale, where Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig acted as baillie for Holyrood Abbey in certain property and was also a *confrater*: the grant of the bailliary of St Leonard's Lands in South Leith begins, 'Wit yhe vs ... ordanis *oure dere and weile beluffit brother of chapater*, schir Robert Logane lord of Lestalrig knyght, *oure baileye off fee and herytage...*'.<sup>83</sup> It appears highly likely that major lords would be received into confraternity with their local monasteries, but no other examples are recorded.

The only other top-ranking noble known to have been a *confrater* is Egidia (Douglas), countess of Orkney. This is a passing reference in the countess's obit in the lost Newbattle Necrology, as recorded by Fr Hay, which describes her as 'our sister *ad succurrendum*', and giver of many valuable gifts (as mentioned above).<sup>84</sup> If Hay has copied this correctly, it is a particularly interesting case. 'Our sister' suggests confraternity, but to enter a monastery *ad succurrendum* was essentially to take retirement there, being provided with a livelihood. The formation of this close relationship to Newbattle must unfortunately remain a rather bald feature in largely unmapped terrain. Hay did note two other obits for the family that Egidia married into: Henry earl of Orkney (probably Egidia's husband, the second earl, d. c.1420) and one Sir William Sinclair (perhaps Sinclair of Herdmanston, d. c.1420), both also recorded as generous donors of material objects.<sup>85</sup> Neither of these mention confraternity, however, and Hay does not mention any Douglas inclusions in the Necrology. On the Douglas front, it appears significant that the obit instructs all the priests of the house to say a mass for Egidia at St Bridget's altar every October or November ('between the feast of St Remigius and the feast of St Andrew'), and all non-priests to

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<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* pp.321-2.

<sup>83</sup> *Edinb. Chrs* no xxvi. Emphasis added.

<sup>84</sup> Hay's 'Scotia Sacra', NLS, Adv. MS. 34.1.8, p.592.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*; *Genealogie of the Sainte Claires*, p.58; cf. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XV c.32 and note on p.201.



sing (*decantare*) a Psalter at the same altar: this was the altar at which the Good Sir James Douglas had endowed masses in 1331. An awareness of this family connection appears likely, but the importance or otherwise of family tradition in shaping Egidia's closer interest in Newbattle is not clear. It remains nonetheless interesting that a lady of triply blue blood<sup>86</sup> apparently ended her life at the abbey; she was almost certainly not unique, particularly among the older families, in favouring an older religious house.

Given the small number of examples, it is difficult to make any conclusions about the nature of monastic confraternity in late medieval Lothian. The best one can do is perhaps simply to note that it was still there, serving a variety of functions from a sign of friendship to a magnate to providing a spiritual home for a widow.

The literally ultimate expression of lay attachment towards a monastery was to seek burial there. Burial was another means of bringing the layman closer to monasticism. It might include proximity to a saint's relics, and their potential patronage on Judgement Day. Most importantly, it would ensure commemoration in the prayers of the monks, prayers traditionally regarded as outstandingly acceptable owing to the holiness of the orators. It is unlikely that the late medieval monasteries were (or were regarded as) sites of searing sanctity; but the religious estate might still appear safer than the lay to some. However, one's proper burial place was also decided in light of earthly position and affections. One's family, community or lord might be the appropriate companions in death, whether this choice arose from earth-bound thinking – the desire to return home, or to occupy a place appropriate to status – or a strategy to approach Heaven – the family or community seen as the primary *corpus Christianum* within which one could be saved. Burial in a monastery might therefore be a family tradition, or result from affection for the monastic *familia*.

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<sup>86</sup> She was Robert III's niece, her mother being his sister, thus adding Stewart parentage to her Douglas father and Sinclair in-laws.

The balance of these motivations in any individual case is, naturally, usually concealed. Evidence of burial is in general, moreover, extremely fragmentary for Scotland throughout the middle ages. This is partly the result of physical destruction of pre-Reformation tombs, brasses and inscriptions in monastery churches (and many others). The great paucity of testamentary evidence, in comparison to England or France, is also particularly problematic for our period. Our remarks are necessarily thus rather anecdotal, and it is difficult to draw general conclusions.

There is no reason to assume that lay burial in Scotland's monasteries had followed unconventional patterns. For the thirteenth century, there is a good witness to one Scottish abbey, namely Melrose: the Chronicle of Melrose, which runs to 1269, includes notes of the various deaths and burials of lay magnates and benefactors. Here we find seventeen burials of laymen recorded between 1215 and 1269, including the erstwhile chamberlain of Scotland, Philip de Valence, and a countess of Mar. Some families show two generations of involvement: Philip's son William *de Valoniis* is also buried there; Henry *de Balolf* and his son Adam are buried together; Roger Avenel is buried next to his father Gervase.<sup>87</sup> Eight of the lay burials, including the family pairs named, are specified as being in the chapter-house, an honourable site where abbots of the house were also buried.<sup>88</sup> This number does not appear out of the ordinary when set beside a survey of burials in English monasteries between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries; it is towards the high end of a wide range.<sup>89</sup> We may perhaps wonder whether Melrose's attraction as a place of burial was in any way affected by the presence of the tomb of Waltheof, whose remains were regarded as valuable relics in 1240,<sup>90</sup> or by that of Alexander II's tomb after 1249.

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<sup>87</sup> *Chronicon de Mailros*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1835), pp.121, 135, 155, 176.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* p.151.

<sup>89</sup> D. Postles, 'Monastic Burials of Non-Patronal Lay Benefactors', *JEH* xlvii (1996), pp.624-5, esp. Table 1.

<sup>90</sup> *Chronicon de Mailros* p.151.



Other monasteries, nonetheless, had certainly also allowed tomb space to benefactors and lords, as can be seen in the Chronicle of Melrose<sup>91</sup> and the occasional charter mentioning intended burial. A few pre-1300 burials are known in Newbattle, Kelso, Cambuskenneth and Holyrood, although (oddly) there seems to be no record of a burial at Dryburgh.<sup>92</sup> (It would be rather surprising, however, if Richard de Moreville, Dryburgh's founder, had not been buried there.<sup>93</sup>) Beyond these facts, the nuances of individual houses' early burial practices are lost.

In light of this, it is unsurprising that there is no means to calculate whether lay burial in Scottish monasteries became more or less frequent in the later middle ages.<sup>94</sup> Trends in France and England do suggest that family and locality were more frameworks for religious observance in this period; the intercession of one's descendants or parish community was apparently desired more than that of the 'professionals'. This would lead one to expect fewer burials in monasteries as opposed to parish and collegiate churches (although some monastic churches were of course also parochial).<sup>95</sup> Unfortunately little conclusive can be offered from the Lothian (or indeed the

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<sup>91</sup> Burials at Kinloss, Coupar, Eccles and Dundrennan: *Chronicon de Mailros*. pp.142-4. Some monasteries had firm policies against accepting lay burial – Durham did not allow it until the late fourteenth century – so one cannot assume that all religious houses contained lay tombs, although it is extremely probable. Dobson, *Durham Priory*, p.72.

<sup>92</sup> Newbattle: Amabilia de Colville, *Newbattle Reg.* no.189; (Queen) Marie de Coucy, *ibid.* no. 120. Kelso (all twelfth-century): Robert and Walter de Schotton, *Kelso Lib.* nos. 362-3; Earl Henry (David I's son), John Comyn, *ibid.* no.274; the daughter of Eschina de Londoniis /Molle, *ibid.* no.146; father of William de Viewpont (unfulfilled intention), *ibid.* no. 143. Cambuskenneth: the earl and countess of Menteith (1290s), *Cambusk. Reg.* no. 129 (cf. *SP* vi.130-4). Holyrood: one Walter Siward, a heriote knight: *Scotichronicon Lib.* XI c.24.

<sup>93</sup> The Melrose Chronicle records a grant by de Moreville to Melrose, and notes his death, describing him as *familiarius noster*; but does not mention burial. *Chronicon de Mailros* pp.97-8.

<sup>94</sup> A possible approach to this might be archaeological: fascinating results have emerged from the excavation of the grave-yard of a Swedish Cistercian abbey for which scarcely any documentation exists. Bo Gregersen, 'The Power of the Aristocracy. Lay Burials at Cistercian Abbey of Cara Insula in the Late Middle Ages', paper given at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 2003 (text available online at [http://ecomuseum.dk/dansk/oem/pdf/paper\\_for\\_imc\\_2003.pdf](http://ecomuseum.dk/dansk/oem/pdf/paper_for_imc_2003.pdf) [accessed 2nd August 2006]).

<sup>95</sup> Postles, 'Monastic Burials', pp.620-22, 634-7, for a good summary of research on burial in general.

Scottish) evidence; we must be content with noting the various options represented in the documents.

One general point which can be seen clearly is the ongoing centrality of monasteries for royal burials. Most noticeable is the reflowering of Dunfermline, St Margaret's monastic project, as a Scottish royal mausoleum in the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, recently examined by Steve Boardman.<sup>96</sup> Alexander III's wife and two sons were buried there before he himself joined them; Robert Bruce's queen, himself, one of his daughters and his sister were also entombed in the abbey church. This focus is understandable. Dunfermline in Alexander III's reign was developing along the lines of St-Denis or Westminster Abbey. Queen Margaret, who already rested there with Malcolm III, David I and Malcolm IV, had been canonised and her relics translated in 1249-50 at the beginning of the reign. The modern Scottish monarchy was demonstrating in burial its place in this holy blood-line; and Robert I, a king whose legitimacy was far from unquestionable, had a particular need to stake his claim there. It is noteworthy that Robert did not choose either St Fillan's, which he endowed in gratitude for Fillan's protection, or Lesmahagow, towards whose patron, St Machutus, the Bruce family had old obligations. (Robert's heart did end up at Melrose, however, for which Robert had shown personal affection and support.)<sup>97</sup>

It is less easy to explain the almost comprehensive loss of interest in Dunfermline after Robert I's generation of Bruces. David II had planned a tomb in Dunfermline, but in the event was buried at Holyrood Abbey. Robert II's queen Euphemia and Robert III's Annabel Drummond were both buried at Dunfermline, and interestingly Robert duke of Albany was also buried there in 1420, possibly, as Boardman suggests, to emphasise his royal

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<sup>96</sup> Steve Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum' in Richard Fawcett, ed., *Royal Dunfermline*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.139-153.

<sup>97</sup> *Scotichronicon* Lib. X cc. 35, 37, 40; Lib. XIII cc. 12, 13; Lib. XIV cc. 7, 18. Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum', pp.143-6.



status. There is however no one royal mausoleum, although monasteries remained the chosen royal burial sites.<sup>98</sup> Robert II was buried at Scone, David duke of Rothesay at Lindores, Robert III at Paisley, James I at the Perth Charterhouse,<sup>99</sup> James II at Holyrood,<sup>100</sup> Queen Mary (of Gueldres) at Trinity College, and James III and Margaret of Denmark at Cambuskenneth. (James IV's body remained in England, at Richmond, after Flodden, but he had at one point been planning on burial in Cambuskenneth.)<sup>101</sup> From this list it will be clear that there is scarcely any direct continuity apart from James IV's wish to join his parents.

If these kings and queens felt no need to maintain dynastic burial traditions, it is probable that most of these places of burial were the result of personal choice. Some of these are explicable, others more mysterious. David II's burial at Holyrood is very curious and quite unprecedented. Robert II's burial at Scone is another puzzling break with tradition.<sup>102</sup> Robert III's burial at Paisley, founded by his ancestor Walter FitzAlan, suggests a particular interest in his own family rather than in his kingship.<sup>103</sup> (It is worth noting that, in general, the older families are the more likely to have significant ancestral connections to monasteries; and the monarchy inherited an interest in the several foundations of David I and William I.) Some suggestion that Robert III had definite ideas about his burial is provided by the *Scotichronicon*, in an anecdote provided to illustrate Robert's humility. As

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<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* pp.147-150.

<sup>99</sup> *Scotichronicon* Lib. XIV cc. 34, 54; Lib. XV cc. 12, 18, 37; Lib. XVI cc. 28.

<sup>100</sup> *ER* vii.422, *Extracta* p.244 (but compare p.238, where a sixteenth-century annotator claims James is in Dunfermline).

<sup>101</sup> *Cambusk. Reg.* no 129.

<sup>102</sup> The absence of royal burials here is perhaps surprising given that Scone (if not the abbey as such) does have powerful royal associations as the place of coronation. At least part of an answer lies in the syncretic development of a Scottish kingship in the early middle ages: Scone's significance was established in the Pictish kingdom(s), while Iona, the Columban cult centre, came to function as chaplaincy to kings of Dal Riada and served as the early Scottish royal mausoleum. The relationship between the several royal cultures and royal sites is complex and controversial; we cannot navigate such deep waters here, but merely note their existence and importance. It is also worth noting that, although Westminster Abbey was a site of both coronation and burial for English kings, the French monarchy also had separate foci: Rheims for coronation and St-Denis for interment.

<sup>103</sup> Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, p.297.

noted in the previous chapter, Robert is reported as berating his wife for her worldliness when she suggests that he should make provision for a decent tomb; he demands, instead, burial in a midden. His speech on the poverty of his being of his flesh and his failure as man and king has clearly been considerably worked up, if not imported from a textual source. Paisley Abbey is, moreover, hardly a midden, and Bower makes no attempt to link this anecdote with Robert's actual burial. Yet if Bower correctly records a tradition that Robert shunned funereal pomp, the burial at Paisley probably represents conscious rejection of royal pretensions as well as a wish to return home.<sup>104</sup>

The first Duke of Albany's burial is a contrast, if not a reaction, to this. As Boardman has pointed out, there is a hint in Bower that the return to Dunfermline was not coincidental: Albany '*sepultus... est regaliter... inter chorum et capellam nostre Domine...*' [my italics]. This looks like a reminder that Scotland was not headless, even with her king in exile. It could be read as a personal claim by Albany to the kingly status he almost enjoyed; or as a less ambitious demonstration: a literal incorporation of his governorship into the royal line, whose authority *de jure* legitimated his own even if its living heir *de facto* threatened it. There is, however, no evidence as to what observers made of it.

James I was unsurprisingly buried in his own foundation of the Charterhouse (compare William I's burial at his foundation of Arbroath). Mary of Gueldres was similarly buried in her foundation of Trinity College, as she had planned from the start.<sup>105</sup>

David duke of Rothesay was perhaps buried in Lindores for the sake of relative convenience and obscurity, after his death in murky circumstances

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<sup>104</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XV c.19. The reported incident is located in Bower's childhood; he was 16 when Queen Annabel died. (Cf. J. McGavin, 'Robert III's "Rough Music": Charivari and Diplomacy in a Medieval Scottish Court, *SHR* lxxiv (1995), pp.144-6 on the tradition of another story about Robert III.)

<sup>105</sup> The foundation charter refers to prayers at the foundress's tomb: *Trinity Chrs* p.25.



at Falkland.<sup>106</sup> It is possible that James III's Cambuskenneth tomb is the result of happenstance – the nearest decent place of burial for his corpse after he 'happinnit to be slane' at Sauchieburn. It is also possible that James IV's plan to be buried there is connected to his apparent deep concern for the sin he had committed in sanctioning patri- and regicide. All this, however, is speculation.

While, then, there are a variety of possible reasons for royal associations with equally various monasteries, there is no consistent reason to assume an interest in monasticism as such.

There are few non-royal families whose habits can similarly be traced for two hundred years. The minimal number of known lay burials in Lothian's monasteries in this period provides, as we have said, only enough material to show examples of various relationships between monasteries and those buried there.

For the families where the burial site of more than one member is known, there is little sense that uniformity across the generations is the norm. The Douglasses thus have some connection to Newbattle. The Good Sir James made a complex grant to Newbattle in honour of St Bridget before he left for Spain, although he was buried in Douglas parish church.<sup>107</sup> Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith then proves to retain an interest in Newbattle in the last decade of the century: his testament reveals that his first wife Agnes, daughter to the earl of March, had been buried there, that he was planning to be buried beside her, and that he proposed (as we have seen) to leave cash and valuables (in relatively small quantity) to the abbey.<sup>108</sup> However, William Douglas of Liddesdale (d.1353), the first earl of Douglas (d.1384) and the second earl (d.1388) were buried at Melrose.<sup>109</sup> The third earl (d.1400) was

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<sup>106</sup> Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, pp.241-5, 283-6.

<sup>107</sup> *Newbattle Reg.* no 134; Bruce, ed. Duncan, Bk XX l.595 (cf. XIX.302).

<sup>108</sup> *Morton Reg.* ii no 193.

<sup>109</sup> *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XIV c.46; Brown, *Black Douglasses*, p.189.

buried at his collegiate church of Bothwell (founded in 1398),<sup>110</sup> but the fifth and seventh earls returned to Douglas church. The sixth earl was buried with the Stirling Blackfriars, but, given that he was eliminated in a private execution by James II, this may have been no choice of himself or his family.<sup>111</sup> Later Douglasses of Dalkeith were buried in their collegiate church of Dalkeith. (Given that James Douglas's testament was written in 1390-92, whereas he founded Dalkeith in 1406 and lived until 1420, it is quite possible that he also ended up being buried in his own foundation.)

Evidence for the earls of March is rather more partial, but it can be noted that in 1232 Earl Patrick had died habited as a monk of Melrose, then been buried in the nunnery of Eccles which he had founded; nearly two hundred years later, Earl George (d. c.1422) was buried in the collegiate church of Dunbar, founded by Earl Patrick (V) in 1342.<sup>112</sup>

In these cases, new or newer family foundations come to be favoured. This is not particularly surprising, and such changing habits can also be seen in families who made successive foundations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>113</sup> If few new foundations of the late middle ages are monastic, we may expect monasteries to lose custom of this sort when their traditional patrons strike out into new ground.

Even where there is no project so grand as a new foundation, in this period locality may come to prevail; the rise of collegiate churches indeed seems to be an aspect of this. The Flemings of Cumbernauld, mentioned earlier, appear to provide an example. There is an unexpected Fleming interest in Holyrood Abbey in the late fourteenth century, when David Fleming plans to be buried by the altar of St Nicholas which he has founded. Unusually, there is evidence of both the intention and the burial, for Andrew

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<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.* Lib. XV c.11, note on variant in MS D. (The fourth earl was buried in Tours with other Scots casualties of Verneuil. *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XV c.35.)

<sup>111</sup> *Extracta* p.242.

<sup>112</sup> *Scotichronicon* Lib. XV c.32, note on variant in MS D, and note on p.301.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. J.C. Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: the Foundation of the Clare Family, 1066-1314', *JEH* 32 (1981).



of Wyntoun's account of his death in 1406 states that his body was indeed born to Holyrood.<sup>114</sup> There is no previous or subsequent evidence of Fleming involvement with Holyrood. An argument from the silence of Holyrood's thin records has little strength, but, somewhat more persuasively, the reasonably extensive Fleming muniments give no indication of such. In any case, if any earlier or later Flemings were buried in Holyrood, their habit had apparently changed by the early sixteenth century, and more probably at some point in the fifteenth century: the testament of John Lord Fleming of Biggar, written in 1520, asks that he be buried in Biggar parish church *cum majoribus meis*, 'with my ancestors'.<sup>115</sup> It was at Biggar that Malcolm Lord Fleming would later found the last of the kingdom's noble collegiate churches in 1543.<sup>116</sup>

Lady Christian Bisset's plan for burial at Newbattle is the only example we have which is visibly the result of a long-term close relationship with a monastic house. As discussed above, she displays a particular wish for her body to rest in a place where her 'brother monks' would walk over it daily. There is no way of knowing how many other people chose to be buried in monasteries after similar personal involvement with the life of the house; it is a road which must nonetheless be borne in mind.

#### IV. Material benefits and burdens: corrody and service

The basic framework of a corrody arrangement was that a monastery would give a layperson lodgings and upkeep for life, in exchange for service or a substantial grant. A corrody was a 'lodger's bundle of privileges' which a layperson (the corrodian) could arrange to receive from an abbey, based on

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<sup>114</sup> Andrew of Wyntoun's *Oryginall Chronikle*, ed. F.J. Amours, 6 vols, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1903-1914), vi.412.

<sup>115</sup> NLS, Ch.15603.

<sup>116</sup> *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* vol. v (Aberdeen, 1852), pp. 296-308.

the shelter, food and drink allotted for the maintenance of one monk (a 'monk's corrody') or one monastery servant (a 'servant's corrody'). The term was in reality, however, extremely flexible, and in English monasteries certainly covered a wide variety of exchanges. Gervase Rosser and Barbara Harvey provide a detailed case-study in Westminster Abbey. This house provided sixty-five known corrodies between c.1250 and 1540, and had, Harvey suggests, perhaps four or five to administer at any one time. By the fourteenth century the standardised monk's portion was likely to be tailored in some way to form a corrody. The basic items of housing – if not within the precinct, then rent-free on the estate – bread and ale were still the most important elements in Westminster corrodies in the fifteenth century, but they might also include clothing, fuel, candles and even cash pensions. Corrodians included retired monastic servants, poor clerks and laypersons of varying wealth; but the system 'had been captured by the middle class' by 1400, particularly those with existing connections to the abbey. They paid for their corrodies with grants of either land or cash, at no very standardised rate. A considerable proportion of corrodies were not obtained like this, but went to royal nominees; Edward I, at the end of his reign, and Edward II, made particularly heavy use of monastic corrodies to provide pensions, and as a result the decades around 1300 were the corrody's heyday in England.<sup>117</sup>

It is necessary to start from knowledge of English monasteries because very few corrodies are recorded for the Lothian monasteries, or indeed Scotland. There are two at Kelso at either end of the fourteenth century, one at Newbattle in 1419, possibly one at Inchcolm in 1430, and one for Holyrood in 1490. Given their rarity, it is worth outlining each of them.

Adam de *Down* senior resigned to Abbot Waleran of Kelso his land at Greenrig (in Lesmahagow barony), which he held of the monastery. At

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<sup>117</sup> B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), Ch. 6 *passim*, esp. pp.179-86, 188-90, 200-205; Appendix V (details of Westminster corrodies). See also H. Morris Stuckert, *Corrodies in the English Monasteries* (Philadelphia, 1923), esp. pp.17-29, which is broader than Harvey's concentration upon Westminster but has less subtle analysis.



Easter 1311, the abbot and convent agreed in exchange to provide him with sustentation within their house of Lesmahagow, a serjeant's portion of victuals, and a robe or cash equivalent each year. Until ill health or old age might prevent him, Adam was to perform suit of court on Kelso's behalf in Lanark sheriff court, specifically to preserve the abbot and convent free from (financial) damages; he was also to 'hold pleas' – prosecute legal action – for the prior of Lesmahagow when required. While he was capable of doing these services, his garment was to be worth one mark stirring, which was to be reduced to half a mark upon his retirement.<sup>118</sup>

William Forman, in June 1398, was granted *unam liberatam sive corrodium* for his lifetime, in return for his 'good service' and 'a certain sum of money'. This consisted of a monk's portion of food and drink, a chamber for his bed, clothing and other necessities, and fodder for one cow. He was to work for Kelso in unspecified service until illness or age made him incapable; the corrody depended upon his working for the monastery, and he would not be given this allowance if he worked outwith Kelso's employ. He and his wife were also to be received into confraternity, and have daily prayers said for them.<sup>119</sup>

At Newbattle on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1419, the abbot and convent granted Edward Crichton, esquire, an annual rent of ten merks and a chalder of oats for his lifetime, in return for a gift of £60 Scots towards the building and repair of the monastery; they also grant him for his lifetime 'a certain manse with pertinences within our said monastery', in exchange for the resignation of his tower and manse in Musselburgh which he held of the abbey.<sup>120</sup>

Margaret Dewar, on 4<sup>th</sup> April 1490, was granted by the abbot and convent of Holyrood fourteen loaves 'of the weight of the abbot's bread', five gallons (*ligenas*, for *laganas*?) of beer of the convent's drink (or cash equivalent), and 14d, 'to be delivered to her annually and weekly' at the

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<sup>118</sup> *Kelso Lib.* nos 195-6.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* no 518.

<sup>120</sup> *Newbattle Reg.* no 282.

monastery. She was thus apparently not resident within the monastery precinct. The quantities specified are presumably her weekly allowance, working out at two loaves of bread a day, and sound like a monk's portion of bread and ale. The annual cash pension adds up to £1 20s 8d.<sup>121</sup>

The Inchcolm case is slightly more puzzling. According to a supplication made to the pope in 1430, a maid called Mariota had been living there, 'and for her food and clothing she assigned certain goods to the abbot and convent and made a certain contract with them under their common seal, as is fully contained in letters thereanent.' This sounds very much like a corrody. However, the petition argues that it is unfitting for a single woman to live among male religious, and asks for permission to dislodge her (with provision of suitable material compensation). The situation is said to have lasted for thirteen years 'by the sinister and dishonourable arrangements of certain men for satisfaction of their own wishes.'<sup>122</sup> It is not clear quite what to make of these dark hints – were the 'certain men' more interested in retaining Mariota's property or her person? It is understandable that the situation might be feared to appear scandalous given the abbey's isolated island location, but it looks like the rather belated action upon this may derive from some sort of power shift within the abbey.

Apart from the last, these examples appear routine enough for us to assume that the granting of corrodies was as normal north of the border as it was south, although what this meant in numerical terms is unknowable. It was also a practice which continued in the sixteenth century: Dilworth mentions the 'selling of monks' portions' for the 1530s and 1540s, which equates to corrody. One of these, an 'annual pension called a monk's portion' from Coldingham held by an unnamed chaplain, was reportedly granted 'at the special supplication' of James V as well as for the 'faithful service' done for the priory, and no payment is mentioned; this was perhaps a royal

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<sup>121</sup> *Prot. Bk Young*, no 338.

<sup>122</sup> *CSSR* iii.148.



nominee being pensioned off. If so, it is the only known such case for Scotland; this is, however, yet another case of absence of evidence.<sup>123</sup>

Our few examples of corrody clearly do not lead to any conclusions on the nature or prominence of such arrangements in Scottish monasteries. They are nonetheless not without value as evidence, beyond merely establishing that corrodies were indeed granted. This is two-fold. Firstly, comparison with England shows that these examples fit very happily into the picture provided by Harvey: this does not mean that practice was identical, but it at least suggests that it is not misleading to keep the English situation in the back of the mind. Secondly, the Kelso cases provide insights into the position of two of the many laymen who were monastic tenants and employees, which can more safely be assumed to have some general relevance.

On the first point, both the Kelso corrodies are connected to monastic servants, as is discussed in detail below. This was often the situation in England. The fifteenth-century corrodies are comparable to some of the later Westminster grants. It is perhaps less usual for an esquire like Edward Crichton to move onto the monastic precinct; unfortunately little detail of his situation is given. Margaret Dewer, however, looks very much like some of the prosperous Westminster townsfolk getting deliveries of bread and ale from the abbey on a weekly business. If she is the same Margaret Dewar who is found elsewhere in the same protocol book, she was a householder in Canongate.

There is more to be said about Adam de *Dowan*, William Forman, and service to Kelso abbey. While both of these arrangements involve service of some variety to the monastery, there are notable differences. A grant of land and a grant of money probably represent rather different economic relationships with the abbey. Harvey notes that corrodies granted in

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<sup>123</sup> Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages*, p.48 and references. The Coldingham pension is known from the *St Andrews Formulare*, in the shape of a confirmation by Cardinal Beaton: the recipient is only *dominus N*. Vol. ii, no 444.

exchange for land often involved resignation to the monastery of land held of it – subinfeft land returning to the mains (demesne) – which is clearly the case for Adam de *Dowan*. In general, such a transaction was ultimately to the benefit of the monastery, since it thus obtained a permanent addition to its capital in the form of enhanced rights in the land, whereas the corrody would be paid out only for the corrodian's lifetime. Some corrody arrangements of this type were made when the lay landholders were in a vulnerable economic position; in other cases, they were in a vulnerable tenurial position, and hence open to persuasion from their monastic lords that more security would be found in resignation, and receipt of a corrody, than in prolonged dispute over the terms of tenure.<sup>124</sup>

Adam might fit into either of these scenarios, although there is no direct evidence for either. He took his name from land which his ancestors had held of Kelso for at least two or three generations, not without tenurial troubles: in the 1240s, Daniel and Robert de *Dowan* made a conciliatory agreement with Kelso after illicitly alienating the land of *Dowan* without permission.<sup>125</sup> Then in 1294, Daniel's son Adam sold the tenement of *Dowan* back to the abbot of Kelso, after receiving, in that typically opaque phrase, 'a certain sum of money ... paid to me in my necessity.' By Whitsun 1301, however, Adam de *Dowan* junior (Daniel's grandson?) held land in *Dowan* (a half share) from the abbot.<sup>126</sup> The result of the 1294 transaction seems, therefore, to have been less the absorption of *Dowan* into directly exploited mainland, than the strengthening of Kelso's hold on the land: once it had regained direct control of the land, the terms of any subsequent tenure granted to Adam would be dictated by the lord without any technical need to defer to precedent, and could (although need not) be rather less secure for

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<sup>124</sup> Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp.192-8.

<sup>125</sup> *Kelso Lib.* no 194 (dated 1240x49 from witnesses). *Dowan* has not been identified: Norman Shead suggests Glendevon, and it was certainly in this vicinity. *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* p.365.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 192-3. That Adam junior held half *Dowan* is revealed in *Kelso Lib.* no 478.



the tenant.<sup>127</sup> The terms on which Adam junior held his land are not recorded, but he resigned it in 1301, in exchange for the land of Auchtyfardle which the abbot and convent granted to him and his heirs. There is no indication there as to why the exchange was made. The family clearly also held some further land of Kelso, given that Adam senior was able to resign Greenrig in 1311.

There are several possible reasons for Adam's resignation of this land; Kelso may have been continuing to consolidate their holdings, and put pressure on him; Adam may have been in economic difficulties, or he may have decided that a contract with a major corporation like Kelso offered a more secure prospect in potential infirmity than did small-scale landholding. As we have said, there is no evidence. It may be worth noting that in any case opinion was perhaps swayed by the political situation, which had already affected both parties. An Adam de Dowan – either Adam senior or Adam son of Daniel, if indeed they are not the same – appears among the Lanarkshire names on the Ragman Roll in 1296. Kelso had felt the effects of divided loyalties keenly in 1299, when Abbot Richard was reported to be aiding Edward I's enemies, and an English monk, Thomas of Durham, was installed as abbot of Kelso and (apparently) prior of Lesmahagow. In 1315, this Thomas was described as a despoiler of Lesmahagow's and Kelso's property. (It is perhaps no coincidence that Abbot Waleran first appears in 1307, in summer of which year Robert Bruce gained south-west Scotland.) Whether Thomas was as black as he is painted, landholders both lay and religious might still feel cause for insecurity by 1311; the kingdom was still a potential battle-ground as Bruce's campaigns continued, and Edward II had passed through Lanark, albeit rather ineffectually, in October 1310.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> As far as can be seen, there is no ground to assume that monasteries were consistently harsh landlords: Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries*, p.54.

<sup>128</sup> Joseph Bain et al, eds, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in the Public Record Office*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1881-1986) [CDS], ii p.213; Barrow, 'The clergy in the War of Independence', in *idem*, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, p.251; *Kelso Lib.* no.188 (it is not clear whether Thomas functioned as both abbot and prior, or whether he held the offices in

If the 1311 agreement was indeed affected by these unusual pressures, however, this should not mask its more general significance in contributing to our picture of how monasteries related to lay lives. In the de *Dowans*, we see a substantial small-holding family, who for several generations found in Lesmahagow and Kelso landlords and employers, who were potentially, and perhaps actually, the greatest guarantors of stability in their world. Fifteen years later, a charter to John, son and heir of Adam junior, shows in some detail how this relationship could function. In late March 1326, Kelso restates to John the grant of the land of Auchtyfardle, obtained by his father in exchange for the half part of *Dowan*, but the terms of tenure are now stated fully. John is also allowed to graze twenty oxen and cows on the common pasture of *Aghrobert*, and can have thirty wagons of peats from the commons of *Dowan*; he may sell malt or ale (*brasiar'*) and meats (*carnes*) upon his tenement of Auchtyfardle. The annual *reddendo* for this is 1d for the land and 6d for the pasture rights. Besides the tenurial relationship, he and his heirs are granted the position of janitor at the gate of Lesmahagow priory, for which they will receive annually the robe of a serjeant<sup>129</sup> and their meals (*mensa sua*). They may substitute a servant to perform these duties, in which case the servant will receive three *laganas* of bread daily while at the door.<sup>130</sup>

Adam senior, whose portion was to be a serjeant's, had probably led a roughly similar life before resignation of his land. The main livelihood of the de *Dowans* was thus apparently from their land, including brewing and sale of produce within the local sphere at least; their service to Kelso did not come with much financial gain, but probably did offer status in the locality.

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succession); Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, p.76; D.E.R. Watt and N.F. Shead, eds., *Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries* (SRS, 2001), pp.122-3; CDS iii no.171.

<sup>129</sup> A hereditary position as a principal household officer, in secular and monastic households; English monasteries preferred to end these hereditary roles in the late middle ages, but there is insufficient evidence for Scotland to assess their survival. Harvey, *Living and Dying in Medieval England*, pp. 149, 165.

<sup>130</sup> *Kelso Lib.* no 478, the Monday after the Annunciation, 1326. A *lagana* is a liquid or dry measure: R.E. Latham, ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list from British and Irish sources* (London, 1965), s.v..



The hereditary nature of the job, and the possibility of employing a servant for the actual tasks, suggests an honorific aspect of the post. This would be intensified if the robe were, as is certainly possible, a livery robe, making John de *Dowan* publicly visible as one of the priory's relatively senior men.<sup>131</sup>

As noted above, the other known corrodian, William Forman, granted his corrody in 1398, was also a monastic servant of some sort. The dependence of his corrody upon unspecified service *within* the monastery suggests that his duties were potentially full time, but also that he could have found profitable work outwith monastic service if he had wished. Little is known of servants in Scottish monasteries, but monastic households had much the same needs as in England. It is possible that Forman was a skilled craftsman – a master baker and brewer, for example, are found at Pluscarden in the sixteenth century, and at Westminster a substantial baker, draper and chandler were each well able to purchase corrodies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Alternatively, he could have held an administrative or even managerial role in the monastic household.<sup>132</sup> Whatever his estate, he was prosperous enough to hand over some size of lump sum.<sup>133</sup>

There do not seem to be any other clues as to Forman's status and wealth (it is possible that the corrody grant was copied into the cartulary to serve as a form letter, like several others of this period), or why he might seek a corrody. Corrodies purchased with money like this were in England more likely to be for the convenience, and to the long-term financial advantage, of 'middle class' associates of the abbey. Unlike a land grant, the monastery's capital was not immediately augmented, and, if a cash grant

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<sup>131</sup> Cf. Harvey, *Living and Dying in Medieval England*, pp.165-6, on substantial laymen with Westminster positions; p.168 on monastic livery.

<sup>132</sup> Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries*, p.54. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p.245 (no 37), p.248 (no 56), p.251 (no 69); pp.148-9 (types of servants).

<sup>133</sup> Westminster corrodies in the fourteenth century were purchased for sums of between £10 sterling (for bread and ale only) and £150 sterling (for a large corrody including fuel and an annual pension of £5 6s 8d): Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp.247-51, esp. nos 54, 58. Forman's allowance was mid-range, but his payment may have been relatively low given the obligation of service.

was simply spent, the monastery might make a net loss.<sup>134</sup> However, the statement that Forman will receive his allowance only if he does not work outwith the abbey suggests that in this case a closer tie was sought between the house and the corrodian. The inclusion of confraternity and daily commemoration among the benefits to accrue to Forman also indicates that this agreement, like any with a monastery, was at some level an interaction with a religious community, its patronal saints, even God; as Harvey concludes, 'neither party regarded the transaction as an economic one in the straightforward sense of the term.'<sup>135</sup> If this almost isolated case of corrody, and entirely isolated picture of William Forman's career, has anything to tell us, it is to add another layer to the picture of the monastery as an institution whose relationship to laypeople could be varied and complex. The abbey here acts as employer, shelterer, and guardian of spiritual welfare: vitally, the three roles are not approached separately, but can appropriately be united as aspects in a very practical arrangement.

There is no doubt that other corrodians, perhaps many others, were to be found in and around Scottish monasteries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As we have said, our few cases do not really add much to this as such. As has also been said, however, the details they provide concerning monastic tenants and servants are more open to generalisation. Given the extent of monastic property, and the extensive administration and work required to run monastic households and estates, the de *Dowans* and Forman are surely a few among many such.

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<sup>134</sup> Cf. Harvey, *ibid.*, pp.198-201, 204.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p.205.



## Chapter Five

### *The Urban Parish: St Giles', Edinburgh*

#### 1. St Giles', Edinburgh: development to c.1530

The parish in the archdeaconry which can be seen the most clearly is, unsurprisingly, that of St Giles' in Edinburgh. It is also one of the most, if not the most, atypical parish, being not only urban, but the parish of what was becoming in this period the most prominent burgh in the kingdom, economically, politically and culturally.<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh, like most Scottish burghs, had one parish which was coterminous with the burgh.<sup>2</sup> Records for St Giles are by no means complete, but they are in certain respects among the best of any parish in Scotland, surpassed only by St Nicholas's, Aberdeen, and (for part of the early sixteenth century) by St John's, Ayr. The manuscript cartulary of St Giles, begun in 1368, contains copies of various documents relating to the church's endowments.<sup>3</sup> Despite the hopes expressed in its preamble, it is by no means, however, a complete record of endowments or liturgical requirements. Its incompleteness is further demonstrated by the existence of another manuscript volume, of the mid sixteenth century, in the

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<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and Leith benefited enormously from the demise of Berwick as the major east-coast port. D. Ditchburn, 'Trade with Northern Europe, 1297-1540', in *The Scottish Medieval Towns*, eds Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman, Geoffrey Stell (Edinburgh, 1988), 161-79, 163-4, for Edinburgh's growing pre-eminence from the 1390s; A. Stevenson, 'Trade with the South, 1070-1513', in *ibid.*, 180-206, at 188, 190-1, 197; M. Lynch, 'The Social and Economic Structure of the Larger Towns, 1450-1600', in *ibid.*, 261-86, pp.268-71. M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), Ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> While this identity was not unknown in England, it was unusual by English standards for a town of Edinburgh's size and prominence to be only one parish. In Norfolk, Yarmouth and Lynn had one parish each, but Norwich, the most important town, had forty-six (an unusually large number also by English standards). London had twice as many, but five or six times the population. N. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, PIMS Studies and Texts 66 (Toronto, 1984), pp.2-3. York had about forty parishes, Newcastle the much smaller number of four: R.B. Dobson, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries by the Citizens of Medieval York', in *idem*, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (London, 1996), p.259.

<sup>3</sup> NAS, Dalhousie Muniments, GD45/13/123/1.

Edinburgh City Archives.<sup>4</sup> This contains copies of sasines relating to anniversaries endowed in the church, and an incomplete calendar of anniversaries. These are almost all anniversaries to be celebrated by the chaplains of the college, not at any particular altar, and relate to endowments dating possibly from 1444, and more certainly from 1494, to 1549.<sup>5</sup> Various other charters surviving in the city's archives and elsewhere were published with the contents of the cartulary by the Bannatyne Club, under the name of the 'register' of St Giles.<sup>6</sup> The records of the city council are also useful, although Edinburgh's medieval council records are limited to two volumes of extracts compiled in the late sixteenth century (and published by the Scottish Burgh Records Society), the compiler of which, like the rearrangers of many a family collection, frustratingly failed to include all the material of ecclesiastical interest.<sup>7</sup> Supplications to the pope, the odd royal charter, and notarial protocol books, offer further light.

The fabric of St Giles' today is considerably altered from its pre-Reformation appearance, first by Reformers' activities and by the church's division into three after the Reformation, then by nineteenth-century 'restorations' some of which set more store by neatness than by restoration as such, and finally by the addition of the Thistle Aisle in the early twentieth century. The effects of these alterations are made clear by George Hay's invaluable examination of the physical development of St Giles' in the later

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<sup>4</sup> Edinburgh City Archives, ED12/42. See Marguerite Wood, 'An addition to Laing's chartulary of St Giles', *BOEC* xxviii (1953), pp.51-8.

<sup>5</sup> The date 1444 is given for one anniversary in the calendar, but it is not entirely clear, seems rather out of keeping with the rest of the volume, and is for an individual who can possibly be identified as having died relatively recently in 1504.

<sup>6</sup> Contents published in *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh: A Series of Charters and Original Documents Connected with the Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1859) [*St Giles Reg.*].

<sup>7</sup> James D. Marwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, AD1403-1528*, Scottish Burgh Records Society (Edinburgh, 1869) [*Edinb. Recs.*]; see also James D. Marwick, ed., *Charters and other documents relating to the City of Edinburgh AD1143-1540*, Scottish Burgh Records Society (Edinburgh, 1871) [*Edinb. Chrs.*]. (Cf Anna Mill's comments on the manuscript compilations; she speculates that they are the work of 'a keen Reformer', *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh/London, 1927), pp.97-98.)



middle ages, which also traces the accumulation of altars and chaplainries in the church which prompted building work.<sup>8</sup>

It is difficult to say much about St Giles' in the fourteenth century. Edinburgh, like the rest of southern Scotland, suffered the disruptions and worse of recurrent warfare in every generation. It was also presumably hit by the plague of 1349 and its frequent reoccurrences; in an urban environment, mortality must have been at the higher end of the spectrum, although there is no direct evidence for the Black Death's impact on Edinburgh. It was surely these above all which prompted the burgh authorities to institute the church's cartulary on the Tuesday after Michaelmas in 1368:

*Assit principio Sancta Maria meo*

Quum propter guerrarum discrimina ac mortalitatem hominum continuam et iuuenum ignoranciam plures redditus ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edynburgh et altaribus in dicta ecclesia constructis ex donacione burgensium eiusdem legati sunt a dicta ecclesia et altaribus eiusdem abstracti et in vsus laycorum in minoracionem diuini cultus perpetue conuersi et diuersi a iure suo ceciderint . ob quod discretus vir Willelmus Guppild tunc aldirmannus burgi supradicti . cum consensu discretorum virorum Johannis Wygmore Ade de Bronhill Johannis de Qwyltnys Andree Augustini Walteri Augustini Symonis de Edynburgh Andree Pictoris Johannis Wygmore Willelmi de Lawedir Andree Bet Patricii Leper Andree Eustacii Alexandri Wygmore Rogeri de Bozvyll Alexandri de Nesbit Willelmi Guillot Johannis Gray clericorum rotulorum domini nostri regis Daud Johannis de Peblis ac vnanimi consensu et assensu omnium aliorum burgensium dicti burgi [...] pro huismodi dampnis vtile clarum et salubre remedium decreuit fieri...<sup>9</sup>

*May St Mary aid at my beginning.*

Since, due to the dangers of wars, and the continual mortality of men and ignorance of youth, it has befallen that many rents of the church of St Giles of Edinburgh and [rents] that were left to altars built in the said church by the gift of burgesses of [Edinburgh] have been taken from its said church and altars and turned to the use of laymen, to the decrease of perpetual divine worship, and turned away from their rightful use – therefore, the discrete man William Guppild, current alderman of the said burgh, with the consent of the discrete men John Wigmore [etc], John Gray clerk of the rolls of our lord King David, John de Peebles, and with the unanimous consent and assent of all other burgesses of the said burgh, [...] decreed that a useful, clear and good remedy be made for these injuries...

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<sup>8</sup> G. Hay, 'The late medieval development of the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh', *PSAS* cvii (1975-6), 242-60. Hay nicely describes the 'suave exterior of intractable sandstone ashlar' which resulted from the restoration efforts.

<sup>9</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 1; Manuscript register, NAS, GD45/13/123/1 fo 7. It is not clear whether the register is currently bound in its original order. *Mortalitatem* here is surely being used not only to remark on human transience but also in reflection of the vernacular usage of *mortalite* to mean plague or other occasions of large-scale death. (*DOST* s.v. 'mortalite' sense 2.)



- namely, the making of the register. This very declaration of losses, however, also demonstrates that the church had endowments, and liturgical obligations to the endowers, worth preserving. This is indeed precisely what one would expect in the parish of a significant royal burgh. An aisle of the Blessed Virgin and altars of St John the Baptist and St Catherine of Alexandria are known by 1360.<sup>10</sup> But still worse depredations were to follow: the most serious incident for Edinburgh of the Anglo-Scottish wars was the burning of the town, including the church, in Richard II's invasion of 1385.<sup>11</sup> Ambitious rebuilding, however, as Hay points out, was soon underway, as witnessed by a contract of 1387 between representatives of the burgh and the masons who were to construct five new chapels on the south side of the nave. Work on these was still ongoing in 1402.<sup>12</sup>

Both the preamble to the manuscript register and the contract of 1387 illustrate that the burgh authorities had (or at any rate took) the initiative in matters relating to the parish church's building, property, and – at least inasmuch as it was related to these two – liturgy.<sup>13</sup> As parishioners, the people of Edinburgh in any case had responsibility for the upkeep of the church's nave. In Edinburgh, however, as in other burghs, the parishioners were the inhabitants of the burgh, and the burgh's hierarchy was equally present when the burgh acted under its parochial aspect. This becomes increasingly evident in succeeding generations. Yet external authorities could affect parish life at least as long as the patronage of the parish church did not pertain to the burgh. St Giles' had been granted to the Lazarites by David I, but at some point in the fourteenth century came into crown control.<sup>14</sup> In

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<sup>10</sup> In 1350, Henry Multurer, burgess, made a grant to the altar of St John the Baptist in the 'choir of the Blessed Virgin', *St Giles Reg* no 3 (cf no 10); by 1360, Roger Hog, burgess, had funded a chaplainry at the altar of St Catherine of Alexander, *ibid.* no 4;

<sup>11</sup> Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.243.

<sup>12</sup> Adam Forrester, lord of Nether Liberton, and Andrew Yutsoun, provost of Edinburgh, and that 'communitie of that ylke', for the burgh's part. *St Giles Reg* no 18. 29<sup>th</sup> November 1387. Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.248.

<sup>13</sup> See also E. Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp.141-2.

<sup>14</sup> Cowan, *Parishes*, p.177; and I.B. Cowan, 'The early ecclesiastical history of Edinburgh', *IR* xxiii (1972), pp.17-19, on the rather unclear history of St Giles's appropriation and patronage.



1393, Robert III granted the patronage of St Giles' to Scone Abbey.<sup>15</sup> A generation later, it was to become clear that this did not suit the burgh's plans for its parish church, and that the burgh authorities were ready to do something about it. More agreeably, one presumes, Robert also granted £26 13s 4d from the income of chamberlain ayres to the fabric of St Giles' in 1395.<sup>16</sup>

Individuals continued to endow chaplainries and altars in the first decades of the fifteenth century. John de Peebles, a burgess, had begun to endow a chaplainry at the altar of St John the Evangelist in the 1390s, and this was completed by his executors in 1405. Later in the same year, John Forrester of Corstorphine, when returned as heir to his father Adam – an Edinburgh burgess risen to knightly status through royal service – also ensured that the relevant rents were assigned to his father's foundation at St Ninian's altar.<sup>17</sup> Further involvement with grandees of the kingdom is indicated by the heraldic carving in the Albany aisle, at the north-west of the nave, which places its building in the first decade of the century.<sup>18</sup> The arms of both Robert, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland 1406-1420, and Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine, are carved on a pillar. Albany's arms are presumably there in connection with his grant to St Giles' fabric of the profits from three chamberlain ayres held at Edinburgh, 1409-13, although whether he made any specific arrangements for commemoration is not known. (It may be relevant to note that the deputy chamberlain at this time was Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine.)<sup>19</sup> The earl of Douglas is not known to have made grants to St Giles', but his appearance in the burgh's papal petition to have St Giles' erected to collegiate status suggests that there was some sort of supportive relationship between the magnate and the burgh.

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<sup>15</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 20-21.

<sup>16</sup> J. Cameron Lees, *St Giles', Edinburgh: Church, College, and Cathedral: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1889), p.19; *ER* iii.373.

<sup>17</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 22, 27, 28.

<sup>18</sup> Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.248.

<sup>19</sup> Lees, *St Giles', Edinburgh*, p.22; *ER* iv.129, 162, 188; Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.249.

There was then possibly a slight hiatus in building work in the 1410s, as Hay suggests.<sup>20</sup> The burgh authorities' strong preference for freedom of action in their parish church, and their ambitious plans for it, is shown in their attempts to detach St Giles' from Scone's patronage and to have it erected into a collegiate church. They supplicated on these matters to Martin V in 1419, with the earl of Douglas named as a co-supPLICANT in one petition.<sup>21</sup> The timing of the attempts to detach St Giles' from Scone Abbey, and to gain authorisation for a college and the appropriation of endowments, was clearly determined by Scotland's eventual shift of obedience away from the Avignon papacy: Scotland had finally changed obedience in 1418, and now the union confirmed by an Avignon pope was open to question. Whether Edinburgh's leaders had been biding their time or had responded to the political change with sudden inspiration, however, cannot be known. Another petition for collegiate status was made in 1423 after the vicar of Edinburgh died.<sup>22</sup> The attempt to make St Giles' a college was nonetheless fruitless for the time being, but the patronage seems to have stayed in royal hands rather than the union to Scone becoming effective.<sup>23</sup>

The reason for the failure to achieve collegiality is not clear. It was possibly blocked by royal interest in maintaining some degree of influence in Edinburgh via its church – or more simply by royal reluctance to lose the disposal of a benefice – but there is no positive evidence on the matter. A lack of resources is also possible, although it seems unlikely: a period of generous individual benefactions followed shortly after the papal petitions. Whatever the reason, there seems no doubt that liturgy within the parish flourished no less over the next generation, in both individual foundations and communal organisation. The thirty years after 1425 were indeed a time of significant growth for St Giles'. Eleven new perpetual chaplainries, a fixed-term chaplainry, and one or two anniversaries were founded. The documents for

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<sup>20</sup> Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.243.

<sup>21</sup> CSSR i.62, 77-8. Cf. CPL vii.136.

<sup>22</sup> CSSR ii.41-2.

<sup>23</sup> Cowan, *Parishes*, p.177.



this period also bring into focus aspects of parish life which probably flourished rather earlier. The earliest recorded anniversary foundation was endowed in 1426 by Edinburgh burgess John de Alncrom at St Mary's altar, where a chaplainry had existed for some time. While being the first known anniversary, this foundation demonstrates the existence of well-developed customs for commemoration in St Giles'. It is a relatively lavish anniversary, endowed with 6 merks a year, for which nine chaplains and a clerk are to celebrate an anniversary (that is, the Office of the Dead and a Requiem Mass) on 16<sup>th</sup> June every year, with bells to be rung in the church and in the town 'as the custom is.'<sup>24</sup> The details of bell-ringing are not specified in surviving documents until several decades later, but the procedure for anniversaries was clearly well established. The request for nine chaplains to celebrate the anniversary also shows that the liturgical potential of the already relatively large and multi-altared church was appreciated by benefactors. This suggests that the collegiate plan was already rooted in reality. If a college was not formally erected, it seems that the burgh decided to effect church organisation along collegiate lines. This may already have been the case in the 1420s. It was certainly so by 1447, as shown in an agreement between the provost, dean, baillies, councilors and community of the burgh, and Sir Alexander Hundby, newly-installed chaplain of the chaplainry at the High Altar, after the provost &c had augmented the chaplainry by £3 15s 8d. In the charter granting Hundby the possessions of the chaplainry, Hundby was bound to celebrate daily Mass

pro animabus feofatorum et communitatis burghi et subibit...omne onus collegii antefate ecclesie et ministrabit in choro diebus ferialibus cum superpellicio suo ad altam missam et vespervas et diebus festialibus ad matutinas altam missam et vespervas et ad processiones et obseruabit ordinaciones et statuta collegii et subiacebit penis eorum...

rendered in the subsequent vernacular indenture as

I [Hundby] sal tharfor beand disposit dayly say mes at the said altar for the prosperite of oure souerain lorde the king the saulis of his predicessouris and successouris and for the prosperite of the said prouost dene bailyheis consail and communitie... and for thar predicessouris and successouris and the saulis of thaim that has geuyn ony annuel rentis to the vphalding of the said seruis . Item I oblis me

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<sup>24</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 31; cf nos 14, 37.

to vndirgang dayly the obseruance of the college of the said kyrk and to kepe the statutis... als wele made as for to be made and to vndirly the punycioun of the statutis and at I salbe with surplice on feriable dais at hee mes and euyn sang and on festiale dais at matyns hee mes and euyn sang...<sup>25</sup>

The church's clergy were thus organised as a 'college' with statutes, including penalties for breaking them; and there were daily corporate celebrations of (at least) High Mass and Vespers, with Matins on feast days. If this was the situation in 1447, it seems unlikely that the eventual successful transition to collegiate status, in 1466, changed very much on the ground. It is may also be worth noting that the vernacular adds in the royal family to the beneficiaries of the daily Mass. Towards the end of these thirty years, the first documented obligation of maintenance for a craft altar was made for the skimmers' altar of St Christopher, newly founded by them, in 1451.<sup>26</sup> Finally, St Giles' was greatly augmented by the gift of an arm-bone of the saint, given by Sir William Preston of Gorton, who had

made deligent labour and grete menis be a he and mighty prince the king of France and mony vthir lordis of France for the gettyn of the arme bane of Sant Gele the quhilk bane he frely left to oure mothir kirk of Sant Gele of Edynburgh withoutyn ony condicionis.

Preston was already buried in the Lady aisle, and apparently had founded a chaplainry, since reference is made to 'the chapellane of quhilom Schir Williame of Prestoun'. In 1455, however, 'the prouost baillieies counsale and communitie of the burgh of Edynburgh' bound themselves to Preston's heir William, 'and to the freindis and surname of thaim', to build a new aisle extending from the Lady aisle, in which Preston's chaplain was to sing at the altar, a five-year chaplainry was to be maintained, and an anniversary was to be kept for Preston. A new tomb was also to be constructed, with suitable recognition of the gift and advertisement of the family: 'in the quhilik ile thare salbe made a brase for his lair in bosit werk and abone the brase a table of bras with a writt specifiand the bringing of that rillyk be him in Scotland with his armis . and his armis to be putt in hewyn werk in vthir thre partis of the ile .' The Prestons were also guaranteed participation in the burgh's major festivity: 'that als oft as the

<sup>25</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 57, 58, 17<sup>th</sup> October 1447.

<sup>26</sup> *St Giles Reg App.* I no 2.



said ryllik beis borne in the yhere that the surnam and nerrest of blude to the said Williame sal bere the said rillyk before al vtheris .'<sup>27</sup> All the building work was supposed to be done in six or seven years, but, as Hay points out, the appearance of the arms of Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes, lord provost in 1487, suggests that the work in fact continued for considerably longer.<sup>28</sup> This contract illustrates several features of parish life. It points to processions in the burgh; to brasses marking tombs; to heraldic decoration as a subject of contractual agreement<sup>29</sup>. None of this is in any way surprising, but given the limited survival of both documentary and physical evidence in Scotland it is very useful explicit confirmation of what one would expect.

The instruction that the tomb's table should have a brass 'with a writt specifiand the bringing of that rillyk be him in Scotland' is a particularly interesting reminder of the parish church's aspect as an almost literally demanding space, filled with claims upon memory and intercession. The visual imagery of arms was part of this, and arguably for armigerous families heraldry spoke with the loudest voice.<sup>30</sup> The role of writing in the church, however, is again something which is easily illustrated in English churches but almost impossible to assess, and indeed almost possible to forget, in Scottish churches, owing again to poor survival. This particular arrangement for written record of a specific event therefore points to all the written admonitions which are highly likely to have been in St Giles'. With regard to the Preston inscription, one wonders if it was in the vernacular or Latin; and whether the arrangement in the contract may reflect awareness that a written commemoration could be assumed to be of particular efficacy in a large urban parish, which must have had one of the highest literacy rates in Scotland.

This thirty-year burst of activity was followed by a slower period for new individual foundations within the church, with only two known new

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<sup>27</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 77. 11<sup>th</sup> January 1455.

<sup>28</sup> Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.250.

<sup>29</sup> Cf David Fleming's agreement with Holyrood Abbey: *Holyrood Lib.* nos 108-9.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp.13-19.

chaplainry foundations in two decades to 1475. However, energy at this time was probably diverted into more communal affairs. This was the period when collegiate status was successfully achieved and exemption from ordinary jurisdiction also acquired. One reason for the official institution of a college in St Giles' – at last, nearly two generations after its first proposal – was the good relationship which Edinburgh generally enjoyed with James III, the church's patron. James assented to the erection of a college in 1466<sup>31</sup>, and co-sponsored the petition for papal ratification. The warmest terms were employed in the supplication – formulaic terms, indeed, but they at least demonstrate the kind of rhetoric which might be thought appropriate:

Cum itaque, sicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte dilectorum filiorum prepositi, balivorum et consulum laicorum ac universitatis opidi de Edynburgh Sancti Andree diocesis petitio continebat, ipsi provide considerantes opidum predictum, in quo modernus Rex Scotorum, et quamplures Episcopi, Abbates, et alii proceres Regni Scotie ut plurimum residere consueverunt, inter alia Regni predicti opida populositate celebre et insigne esse, ac ad illud multitudinem populi eiusdem Regni confluere...<sup>32</sup>

Since therefore, just as the petition shown to us on the part of our beloved sons the provost, baillies and councillors (laymen) and all of the town of Edinburgh (St Andrews diocese) contains, they, prudently considering that the said town, in which the current king of Scots and many Bishops, Abbots and many other princes of the realm of Scotland are wont to dwell, is in population famous and distinguished among all the towns of the said realm, and that a multitude of people of the said realm are wont to flock to it...

It might also be noted that the provost, William Forbes, was described as a 'nephew' of James III in a supplication to unite Dunbarney parish church to the college's capitular mensa.<sup>33</sup> James also sponsored the petition to exempt St Giles' from ordinary jurisdiction, which again rhetorically emphasises Edinburgh's status -

quod opidum ipsum iuxta alia opida regni scotie insigne et populosum erat, et in illo quampluries prelati et alii proceres et magnates illarum partium residerent, prout resident de presenti, necnon ad ipsum opidum nationum diversarum mundi partium multitudo confluit copiosa, quodque parrochialis ecclesia sancti Egidii opidi memorati inter ceteras parrochiales partium earundem famos et honorabilis erat

<sup>31</sup> RMS ii.887, 21<sup>st</sup> Octobert 1466.

<sup>32</sup> Augustinus Theiner, ed, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia ... ex Vaticani, Neapolis ac Florentiae tabulariis...* 1216-1547 (Rome, 1864) [Vet. Mon.], no dcccxxxvii. Supplication calendared CSSR v.1253. 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1468.

<sup>33</sup> CSSR v.1260, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1468.



that that town was famous and populous in comparison to other towns of the kingdom of Scotland, and in it many prelates and other princes and magnates of those parts dwelt, as they currently do, and also a great throng of the different nations of the regions of the world flock to that town; and that the parish church of St Giles of the said town was famous and honourable among the other parishes of those same parts...

- and James's attachment to it: the king

in opido antedicto ut plurimum residet, ad ecclesiam ipsam, utpote sui intuit insignitam, singularem gerat affectum, eamque ac personas inibi divinis laudibus insistentes pluribus immunitatibus, et privilegiis decorare intendat...<sup>34</sup>

like many, resides in the said town, and, inasmuch as he regards its distinction, has a great affection for that church, and intends to adorn it and the persons conducting divine praises there with many immunities and privileges...

As mentioned, given the collegiate functions visible in 1447, it is not likely that liturgical arrangements were significantly altered after 1466; and it is hard to discern whether collegiate status made much practical difference to the nature of parish life. This is not to affirm Cowan's statement, concerning the growth of the college and foundation of numerous altars after 1466, that 'Nothing of this, which is a separate study in its own right, added to the parochial life of St Giles. The collegiate church existed for the saying of votive masses for the dead, the parochial work and the cure of souls being entrusted, in spite of the magnificence of the church, to a vicar pensioner.'<sup>35</sup> This is technically speaking true, but the implied dichotomy between prayer for the dead and care for the living is a false one. It was, after all, precisely parishioners of St Giles' who wished to establish the college and who founded the altars; it was the living who endowed prayers for their dead and for themselves, the dead-to-be, and the living were encouraged to hear services for the dead and offer their prayers (as will be discussed below).<sup>36</sup> In larger English parish churches, which did not become technically collegiate, arrangements of a quasi-collegiate nature were also made in order to achieve high liturgical standards.<sup>37</sup> The strictly parochial business of provision of the

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<sup>34</sup> *Vet. Mon.* no dcccxlvi; CSSR v.1441. 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1470.

<sup>35</sup> Cowan, 'Early ecclesiastical history of Edinburgh', p.21.

<sup>36</sup> See Clive Burgess's sensitive article, "'For the Increase of Divine Service': chantries and the parish in late medieval Bristol', *JEH* xxxvi (1985).

<sup>37</sup> Burgess, 'St George's College', p.94; Burgess makes intelligent remarks on historians' possibly misplaced emphasis on the parish's pastoral role if it is opposed to the liturgical.

sacraments was not the only means of lay involvement with the parish church, as developments after 1466 clearly show.

This was a period where a particular form of urban organisation, the craft, was relatively widely and quickly placed on a more formal basis in Edinburgh than previously. As we have seen, the arrangements for the skinners' altar were made in 1451. The baxters' (bakers') statutes were ratified by the provost, baillies and council in 1456 or 1466 – the extracts conflict – which included the obligation to pay duties to their altar of St Cuthbert.<sup>38</sup> A whole series was then granted in the 1470s and '80s: the hatters in February 1474, a renewed agreement for the skinners in December of that year, the wrights and masons in October 1475, the wobstars (weavers) in January 1476, the hammermen in May 1483, the fleshers in April 1488, and the coopers in May 1489.<sup>39</sup> In all of these except the hatters, the maintenance of the craft's altar was among the obligations. The skinners were at St Christopher's, the wrights and masons at Ss John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, the wobstars at St Severin, the hammermen's and fleshers' altars are not named in these documents but were St Eloy and St Hubert respectively<sup>40</sup>, and the coopers were also St John's altar. In most of these cases, it should be noted that the craft's statutes were confirmed after a bill of complaint had been brought before the burgh council, drawing attention to abuses which were damaging to the craft and the town. It is therefore not clear in every case whether the altar in question was a recent foundation or whether the craft's patronage of it was already well established. Given that, when in 1475 the town authorities assigned the aisle of St John to the wrights and masons, it was to use as 'thair awin proper ile siclik as wtheris craftismen occupiis within the said colleg kirk', one might gain the impression that craft patronage in the church was already the norm, even if not all the crafts' arrangements were yet documented. It may be noted that an indenture was

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<sup>38</sup> *Edinb. Recs.* i.14 and n.1; cf Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.254.

<sup>39</sup> *Edinb. Recs.* i.14, 26, 28-9, 30-32, 47-8, 54-8.

<sup>40</sup> Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.255.



made in 1473 between the provost and canons of St Giles, and the brothers of St Anne's altar, detailing the liturgical duties at that altar; a chaplainry foundation in 1474 shows that this confraternity is the tailors' confraternity, and that their craft has a dean in charge of administering altar service. The surviving seal of cause for the craft, however, is not until 1500.<sup>41</sup> The merchant guildry itself was not incorporated until 1518, and generally in Scotland codified craft organisation lagged well behind activity.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, however, the seal of cause granted to the wrights and masons on 15<sup>th</sup> October 1475 mentions that the craftsmen are to have 'their places and rowmes in all general processions lyk as thai haf in the towne of Bruges or siclyke gud townes': if the model cited is from outwith Edinburgh, rather than being Edinburgh custom itself, should one infer that general processions with craft representation was still a novelty at this point?

The 1470s were therefore certainly a time of consolidation in St Giles' and for the burgh of Edinburgh, with collegiate status ratified and the arrangements for several crafts brought officially into the sphere of the burgh authorities. The process of codification and consolidation is indeed a material development in itself.

After 1475 the number of recorded individual foundations rises again, and the last quarter of the fifteenth century was a time of major growth. There are marked peaks in chaplainry foundation in the early 1480s and during the 1490s. From some fifteen chaplainries by 1450 the number rose only to twenty by 1475, but doubled to some forty by 1500. After 1500 the rate of growth is a little lower. There were nonetheless up to fifty-four chaplainries by 1535. Rather more anniversary foundations – that is, anniversaries not known to be part of chaplainry foundations – are recorded after 1505, particularly throughout the 1520s. It is probably to be doubted, however, that the number of anniversaries recorded is very comprehensive.

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<sup>41</sup> NAS, Records of the Incorporation of the Tailors of Edinburgh, GD1/12/2, 3, 4; seal of cause also in *Edinb. Recs.* i.82-3.

<sup>42</sup> Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, p.51.

The extant calendar of anniversaries does not go beyond October, and is mostly concerned with foundations of the sixteenth century.<sup>43</sup> The major development in St Giles's in the two generations from c.1475 can perhaps be summarised as an ever-increasing concentration of well-established liturgical and devotional practices: more Masses, more liturgies, more priests, more building. The details of these practices will be discussed below. The chronology of foundation in St Giles' (which is fairly similar to Aberdeen St Nicholas'<sup>44</sup>) is markedly dissimilar to some English patterns: Barrie Dobson found that the fourteenth century was the peak period for chantry foundation in York city and in Yorkshire, with a rapidly declining rate after 1400.<sup>45</sup>

It is unsurprising that the fourteenth century was not a major period of chaplainry endowment in a town in south-east Scotland. More positive explanation, however, is trickier. The heightened activity in the last quarter of the fifteenth century is difficult to explain. This was not, economically, a very healthy period for Scotland as a whole. James III's reign was marked by major fluctuations in the exchange rate, and overseas exports were in general declining in the late fifteenth century as they had been for the last hundred years.<sup>46</sup> However, despite the decline, it has been shown that Edinburgh's share in exports of both wool and hides was increasing, particularly in the last third of the century.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, within towns influence both political and economic was becoming the province of more limited groups, a new burgh 'aristocracy': according to legislation of 1467, burgh councils were to appoint their successors, and only the 'famous and worshipful' could engage in overseas trade, while the incorporation of crafts allowed the 'best and

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<sup>43</sup> ECA, ED12/42, fo 17r-v.

<sup>44</sup> Iain Fraser, 'The Later Medieval Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas, Aberdeen', PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1989), pp.16-22. Fraser finds that chaplainry foundation in Scotland as a whole was at its peak c.1500.

<sup>45</sup> Dobson, 'Foundation of Perpetual Chantries', pp.260-261.

<sup>46</sup> Lynch, 'Social and Economic Structure of the Larger Towns', p.266; Michael Lynch, 'Towns and Townspeople in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.A.F. Thomson (Stroud, 1988) p.176.

<sup>47</sup> Lynch, 'Towns and Townspeople', pp.176-7, 185.



worthiest' of the craftsmen to regulate manufacture and commerce.<sup>48</sup> Two tentative suggestions based on these studies can be made: one, that Edinburgh may now have come into a position of having more individuals with sufficient surplus wealth to alienate property to the Church in perpetuity; and the other, that this may have allowed a growing culture of conspicuous consumption, including more private intercessory institutions. Dobson argues with regard to York that the decline in chaplainry foundations resulted from a concentration of wealth in the hands of a small elite, rather than falling interest in intercession. Endowment seems to have been accessible to a slightly larger group in Edinburgh, but the emergence of a wealthy social cream may perhaps represent a similar process in a different context.<sup>49</sup>

As will be clear from the preceding survey of St Giles' late medieval history, our view of parish life in Edinburgh is for the most part rather narrowly and particularly framed: the extant sources largely concern permanently endowed intercessory foundations. It should be noted that short-term chaplainries and anniversaries are almost entirely invisible in record; the few extant testaments suggest that they were endowed with lump sums of cash, which did not leave documentary traces worth keeping by later generations. Further examination of perpetual chaplainries and anniversaries nonetheless offers insights into certain aspects of liturgies which took place in St Giles', and into the ecclesiastical interests of at least a certain group within the burgh.

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<sup>48</sup> Lynch, 'Social and Economic Structure of the Larger Towns' p.261; 'Towns and Townspeople' pp.183-4.

<sup>49</sup> Dobson, 'Foundation of Perpetual Chantries', pp.261-4.

## II. Chaplainries and anniversaries: form and meaning

### i. Commemorative liturgies

Relatively little detail is given in most foundation documents for the celebrations to be conducted under the auspices of a chaplainry. Daily Mass for the good of the named individuals and groups was the usual basic requirement. Some foundations were augmented at the founder's request with various extra prayers and ceremonies, largely intended to draw the attention and hence prayers of those attending the Mass or merely present in the church. Twenty-three founders of chaplainries included such extra requests.

Thirteen of these incorporated further exequies focussing on the faithful departed. Some wanted the Office of the Dead: the Forrester of Corstorphine chaplainry at St Ninian's altar, endowed in 1426, was to include the Placebo and Dirige (Vespers and Matins of the dead) and commendation of souls every day, as was the chaplainry founded by John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, at St Catherine's altar in 1427.<sup>50</sup> Alexander Currou's chaplainry at St Nicholas' altar (1467) also included a Placebo and Dirige every afternoon.<sup>51</sup> Several founders requested a Placebo and Dirige and a Requiem Mass on certain days in the week, usually Monday: Alan Fairnly (St Ninian's altar, 1439) and Archibald Napier of Merchiston (St Salvator's, 1493) asked for Requiems on Mondays<sup>52</sup>; Andrew Mowbray (St Ninian's, 1492), Walter Bertram (St Francis's, 1477; Ss Laurence and Francis, 1495), Richard Hoppa (the Visitation and St Roche, 1503) and his son Sir Thomas (St Triduana and St Roche, 1527), Joneta Elphinstone (All Saints, St Thomas, St Appolonia, 1509) and Sir John White (Holy Blood, 1527) all asked for a Placebo and Dirige on Fridays with Requiem on Mondays<sup>53</sup>; Sir William

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<sup>50</sup> *St Giles Reg* App. I no 1; no 112.

<sup>51</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 83.

<sup>52</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 47, 109.

<sup>53</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 96, 102, 110, 114, 130, 131, App. I no 11.



Brown (St Blaise, 1517) asked for a Placebo and Dirige on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays (traditional days of fasting)<sup>54</sup>; and Alexander Lauder of Blyth and Walter Chepman asked for a weekly Placebo and Dirige.<sup>55</sup>

As Clive Burgess has pointed out, anniversaries, while only happening once a year, provided more dramatic occasions than did the daily Masses of a chaplainry.<sup>56</sup> The general form of the anniversaries endowed in St Giles was constant and conventional, following the usual pattern of a reenactment of a funeral. Placebo and Dirige were said or, preferably, sung the afternoon before a Requiem Mass was celebrated. This was accompanied by bell-ringing 'to encourage the people to pray for all the dead in Christ.'<sup>57</sup> It was not usually deemed necessary to described the ringing of bells in detail, but two foundations are more specific. They show that a bell was rung in the streets of the town at the time of the Vespers and the Mass, and the church's larger bell was rung during the *Dirige*, afterwards, and before Mass (at noon, 6pm and 6am according to one of the two) – the 'minding' (*minnyng, monyng*) – followed by three groups of three tolls.<sup>58</sup> The ringing of the great bell was the responsibility of the sacrist or parish clerk, who was usually paid 2s or 3s for this duty; the ringer of the bell in town was paid less, between 4d and 12d.<sup>59</sup>

It was usually asked that these Hours of the Dead and the Requiem Mass be sung by a substantial number of chaplains, usually sixteen prebendaries of the college. They were most commonly paid a shilling each,

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<sup>54</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 122.

<sup>55</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 120, 121, 132.

<sup>56</sup> Clive Burgess, 'A service for the dead: the form and function of the Anniversary in late medieval Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* cv (1987), p.191.

<sup>57</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 92.

<sup>58</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 92, 106.

<sup>59</sup> This form of anniversary was entirely conventional. Compare the evidence for anniversaries in Scottish Dominican churches, and in Bristol parish churches. J.P. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450-1560* (Leiden, 2003), pp.178, 184-5. Burgess, 'A service for the dead', pp.184, 188-9; *idem*, 'The benefactions of mortality: the lay response in the late medieval urban parish', in David M. Smith, ed., *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, Purvis Seminar Studies, Borthwick Studies in History 1 (York, 1991), p.74.

or had one merk to share between them. Six founders also allocated money for twenty, thirty or forty priests to say the *Placebo* and *Dirige* privately for them on the same days; these were paid 4d, 6d or 8d. The celebration of said Masses thus did not merit the same payment as singing Mass did; this is even clearer in Andrew Mowbray's foundation of 1478, where he allocates 10d each to 10 chaplains to sing Masses, but if this is not possible, then 6d each to 16 chaplains saying low Masses.<sup>60</sup> This was not all just about multiplications of Masses. Alexander Lauder of Blyth's chaplainry foundation at the Annunciation altar in 1510 included an anniversary, with 13s for the prebendaries and 8d each to forty more priests to be in the procession at the Matins of the Dead and to say Mass the next day at that altar and the three altars nearest to it.<sup>61</sup> The anniversary was therefore apparently to retain its form as a single liturgical event by taking place within a limited area of the church. Even if each priest said Mass as quickly as possible it can scarcely have taken less than three and half hours for all these Masses to be said.<sup>62</sup> One wonders exactly how forty priests were recruited for the job every year. A suggestion that surplus priests might be readily available, and even that this element of an anniversary foundation might be considered a charitable act, is perhaps found in Joneta Elphinstone's anniversary detailed in her chaplainry foundation of 1509 at the altar of All Saints, St Thomas the Apostle, and St Appolonia. She allocated 6d each to ten poor unbeneficed chaplains, who were to say a Requiem Mass at that altar and other altars near it. Alexander Lauder of Blyth in 1513 also mentioned 'needy chaplains' as recipients of money for bread, wine and wax in his chaplainry foundation.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 93. Cf Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', p.187, on music in Bristol anniversaries, and Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland*, p.193, on Dominican anniversaries, one of which pays twice as much for a sung service as a said service.

<sup>61</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 120.

<sup>62</sup> Assuming about twenty-five minutes per Mass, with ten priests celebrating successively at each altar.

<sup>63</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 120, App. I no 11. In the absence of detailed accounts for the church, we cannot know whether the specified numbers of priests were in fact present. It may be worth



Founders of both daily Masses to be said by chaplains, and annual obit Masses, almost always specified certain extra prayers for the dead to be added in during or after the Mass. Most commonly, the priest was asked to exhort the people, at the beginning or the introit of the Mass, to say a *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* for the souls of the relevant dead – nineteen chaplainries include this during daily Mass, as do four anniversaries. Three founders ask for this exhortation not at the beginning of Mass but at the first *lavatorium*.<sup>64</sup> These instructions thus apparently assume that there will be people present at these Masses to hear the exhortation. Nine founders also ask that the psalm *De profundis* (sometimes with collects for the dead) be said, two at the washing of hands (*locio manuum*, i.e. the *Lavabo*) and seven at the first *lavatorium*. Twelve also asked for the sprinkling of holy water at their tombs at the end of every Mass, usually again with the *De profundis* and sometimes with particular collects. The reason for the celebration of these Masses was thus to be made very clear to anyone in the vicinity, and all possible prayer was to be encouraged. Given the number of chaplainries instituted in the later fifteenth century, it was becoming increasingly likely that anyone going into St Giles' would be there while at least one Mass was taking place. The exhortations and aspersions may therefore have been intended to catch the attention as much of passers-by, in the church for business purposes, as of those there specifically to hear Mass. Moreover, as more and more daily and annual Masses were founded, to omit these attention-catching ceremonies may have seemed imprudent. While the inclusion of some such addition became quite standard, the precise configuration of prayers admitted of some variation, and few endowed

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noting that a particularly lavish Bristol anniversary, requiring twenty priests, was never fully attended. Burgess, 'A service for the dead', p.185.

<sup>64</sup> I have not found this word elsewhere used to refer to a part of the Mass (see s.v. in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British and Irish Sources*), but it may refer to the first of the two washings of the sacred vessels after Communion. The hand-washing at the Offertory would seem a more appropriate place to add a psalm, but why it would be called *primum* is unclear. Some charters request prayers at the *locio manuum*, further suggesting that this is not the *lavatorium*.

Masses had exactly the same combination of prayers at exactly the same points in the Mass. Individual thought, then, did go into each foundation.

While the basic forms of both chaplainries and anniversaries were very conventional, some of the details of the liturgies in Edinburgh reflect local custom. Several contrasts can be drawn with St Nicholas', Aberdeen. Foundation charters for Aberdonian anniversaries and chaplainries do not include exhortations and prayers inserted into the Mass as described above. Where Edinburgh anniversaries often ask for a certain number of chaplains to follow the anniversary Mass with private Masses, Aberdonian anniversaries far more often include a trental of Masses to be celebrated during the following week, and sometimes at other times of the year.<sup>65</sup> Trentals feature in only one Edinburgh anniversary, John Paterson's at St Sebastian's altar as endowed by his daughter in 1523.<sup>66</sup> Further, requests for particular votive Masses other than Requiem are very rare in Edinburgh, and there are no records of individual endowments of weekly Masses. This is in sharp contrast to St Nicholas' parish in Aberdeen, where by 1520 there were twenty-three votive Masses to be said at various altars on a weekly basis, of which only three were Requiem Masses.<sup>67</sup> Masses of the Virgin, the Holy Spirit and the Five Wounds were prominent among these. (It is probably significant that more than half the founders of such Masses were clerics, men familiar with the liturgy and perhaps tired of endless Requiem Masses.<sup>68</sup>) In contrast, only the Holy Blood Mass on Wednesdays is known in Edinburgh. Intercessionary foundations in Edinburgh laid particularly heavy emphasis on commemorating not just the dead, but the fact of their death. There was

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<sup>65</sup> *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis*, 2 vols, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1888-1892) [*St Nich. Cart.*], vol. i *passim*; note foundations referring to this practice as customary, e.g. no 108.4: Sir William Leith in 1438 endows an anniversary at St Leonard's altar on the Sunday after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, with Placebo and Dirige on Saturday, sung Mass on Sunday and a trental during the following week, *ut moris est*. Fraser, 'St Nicholas', is an extremely useful thesis; I have discussed the chaplainries and anniversaries more extensively in an unpublished MSc essay 'Chaplainries and Anniversaries in the Burgh Parish Church: the case of Aberdeen'.

<sup>66</sup> *St Giles Reg.* App. I no 14.

<sup>67</sup> *St Nich. Reg.* i p.193-9, 219, 221, 230, 243, ii p.317-8

<sup>68</sup> Cf Kathleen Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantry in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), pp.284-6.



thus, whether intentionally or not, a sort of liturgical particularism to urban parish life. The origins of these differences (and others mentioned below) are not known; but in both instances, coherent sets of customs were established by the mid fifteenth century at the latest, and willingly reinforced with every new foundation.

## ii. The liturgical year

The liturgical year in Edinburgh was of course primarily shaped by the universal calendar, beginning at Advent and continuing through the Christmas season, Lent, Paschaltide, the clutch of post-Easter feasts and the long stretch of ordinary time through summer and autumn. This structure had its impact on burgh life outwith liturgy: increased regulation of the sale of fish during Lent reflects the commercial implications of the meatless fast.<sup>69</sup> Other shapes, however, might also be picked out. There was a calendar of finance and commerce: rents were most commonly due at Pentecost and Martinmas; Edinburgh's two annual fairs were not far from these terms, running from Hallowe'en and Trinity Sunday (until slightly shifted in 1507).

Burgh life was most explicitly expressed in liturgy, however, in the patronal feasts of the burgh and its various confraternities and guilds. The most important civic feast was probably St Giles' day, especially after the acquisition of the relic by 1454, which was thereafter carried in procession by one of the Preston family. All the craft confraternities probably followed with their banners.<sup>70</sup> There was also a Corpus Christi procession involving the crafts, first known by 1494 when the Hammermen's accounts begin, but presumably of rather earlier origin.<sup>71</sup> The dedication of St Giles' on 3<sup>rd</sup> November was also kept as a feast day. Each confraternity and guild had an anniversary celebrated on their patronal feast day, and possibly on others:

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<sup>69</sup> *Edinb. Recs.* p.49.

<sup>70</sup> The Hammermen were certainly involved in 1495: Mill, *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*, p.226.

<sup>71</sup> Mill, *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* pp.72-3, 225ff.

the Tailors had anniversaries on the days of both St Anne, their patron, and St Luke.<sup>72</sup> This was probably followed by feasting.<sup>73</sup>

The timing of individuals' anniversaries could be affected by various considerations. In Edinburgh, thirty-five anniversaries include clear statements of when they are to be celebrated. Seven of these are explicitly to be on the day of the founder's or another beneficiary's death every year. Four are explicitly determined by liturgical time: one on the Monday after Whitsun, one on the Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, one on St Triduana's day, and one on the feast of the Name of Jesus (although it was originally founded for celebration on the feast of the Circumcision). Of the others, it is very likely that most of them are also dates of death, although this is not stated. A few are on liturgically significant dates which may have been chosen in advance: Thomas Brown's – the last in the manuscript obit book – was on 16<sup>th</sup> August, the day of St Roche, an increasingly popular saint; Mr William Foular's was on 31<sup>st</sup> October, immediately before the major feasts of All Saints', All Souls', and the dedication of St Giles', not to mention one of Edinburgh's two annual fairs. Even when a date coincides with a feast, however, one need not assume choice: John Paterson's anniversary was on the feast of St Michael in Monte Tumba, but the foundation gives this as the day of his death. However, St Giles' anniversaries are not very evenly spread through the year, which may indicate more deliberation than is evident. None are recorded in November and December, and few in January to April. This may show a deliberate avoidance of the fasting seasons of Advent and Lent. The relatively low proportion of anniversaries timed with reference to major feasts, however, contrasts with both Bristol and Aberdeen. In the former case, anniversaries close to Easter were popular. In the latter, there was a particularly high concentration of trentals after Whitsun and Martinmas, and a high proportion of anniversaries were on feast days or

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<sup>72</sup> NAS, GD1/12/2.

<sup>73</sup> Cf Dunfermline: Elizabeth P.D. Torrie, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline', in *The Scottish Medieval Town*, ed. M. Lynch, G. Spearman and G. Stell, p.257.



timed in relation to feast days (the Sunday after the Assumption, for example).<sup>74</sup>

The fortunes of one anniversary, a clerical foundation, illustrate the absorption of liturgical novelties into St Giles's calendar. The chaplainry foundation at St Blaise's altar made in 1517 by Sir William Brown, rector of *Mousuald* (but apparently from an Edinburgh burgess family), includes an anniversary. Brown states that, since there is no foundation in honour of the Name of Jesus in the church, and the feast of the Name is kept at no particular time ('ex eo quod infeodacio neque solemne festum in predicta ecclesia collegiata in huius glorisissimi nominis Jesu minime fundatur incerto termino hactenus celebratur'), he wishes that his anniversary be kept on the feast of the Circumcision (1<sup>st</sup> January), which marks the first blood shed by Jesus ('volo tunc et ordino mea simplici deuotione informacione et disposicione quod huius mea infeodacio in festo sanctissime circumcisionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi primam effusionem et traccionem preciosissimi sanguinis designantis apud predictum altare annuatim celebretur et decantetur...').<sup>75</sup> The anniversary for Sir William Brown noted in the manuscript obit book, however, is dated 7<sup>th</sup> August 1527<sup>76</sup>: 7<sup>th</sup> August was in fact the feast of the Name of Jesus. This may indicate that he redefined his foundation in 1527, or that he died in 1527 and the anniversary was subsequently moved to the feast that he had really favoured once it began to be regularly celebrated in St Giles'. Whatever the case, it is interesting that, if Sir William's comments in his first foundation are correct, St Giles's was really rather late in picking up on this feast, which in Sarum printed missals was generally included by 1500 and which was present in the Aberdeen Breviary of 1510 (both in the calendar and by inclusion of the office).<sup>77</sup> Given

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<sup>74</sup> Burgess, 'A service for the dead', pp.192-7; *St Nich. Cart.* vol. i *passim*, esp. no 108 – there were more minor concentrations around Corpus Christi, the Nativity of St John, Michaelmas and Epiphany.

<sup>75</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no 122.

<sup>76</sup> ECA, ED12/42, fo 16v.

<sup>77</sup> R.W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), Ch. 4 esp. pp.69, 73-6.

that in other respects the large urban churches, patronised by merchants who were in touch with devotional trends in the churches of the Low Countries, seem to have hastened the import of new fashions to Scotland, it is worth noting this instance of slow movement within St Giles's corporate liturgy.<sup>78</sup> It is also noteworthy that Brown appears to feel that a liturgical association with the Blood of Christ is a suitable alternative arrangement. His (admittedly common) surname was certainly shared with burgesses, and if he was from a well-off Edinburgh family then he was probably related to members of the guild whose devotional focus was the Holy Blood altar. The significance – both social and liturgical – of the Holy Blood devotion within Edinburgh and St Giles' may mean that, for the Edinburgh elite, Christological devotion was particularly informed by, or structured around, adoration of the Blood.

Only two anniversaries specify a day of the week: the others are all apparently fixed dates. This is in marked contrast to Bristol, where most anniversaries were on a Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, and Aberdeen, where they were almost invariably celebrated Saturday to Sunday.<sup>79</sup> There was therefore apparently little or no effort in St Giles' to allocate anniversary Masses any particular place in the college's usual liturgical routine, although presumably they might be deferred for solemn feasts. This may indicate that the Edinburgh burgesses had an even stronger voice in determining what happened in their foundations in their church than was the norm.

### iii. Charity

The anniversaries endowed in St Giles' illustrate one aspect of Christian life otherwise relatively thinly evidenced for Lothian: charity to the poor, involving works of corporal mercy. Doles for the poor were regular

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<sup>78</sup> Possibly in this case, however, the Aberdeen Breviary was unrepresentatively up-to-date; this feast was also more popular in England than on the Continent, and within England its celebration was disseminated at varying pace. *Ibid.* p.77 n.1, pp.80-81.

<sup>79</sup> *St Nich. Cart.* vol. i *passim* (e.g. nos 58, 63, 93, 108.2, 108.41, 108.43).



features of both funerals and anniversaries. A dole is first documented in an anniversary of 1477, and of forty-eight known anniversaries in St Giles', fifteen include doles. The manner in which the anniversaries were to be celebrated, and their funds distributed, is not known for all the recorded examples; about ten are known only in passing or without detailed instructions. This leaves some twenty-three anniversaries which fairly definitely did not include doles. Hand-outs to the poor were therefore not an automatic element of commemoration. They were however far more common for St Giles' than for St Nicholas', Aberdeen, where only two known anniversaries included doles.<sup>80</sup>

Where the dole is described in detail, the pattern is always similar: a certain number of portions are to be distributed, usually composed of 3d worth each of ale, bread and meat (or a substitute, depending on season). In one case, bread and silver was to be given.<sup>81</sup> These arrangements are quite conventional, and similar examples can be found elsewhere.<sup>82</sup> These portions were to be placed on a table during the requiem Mass, then handed out afterwards. The number of portions varies between twenty-four and sixty.

Some regulation of the recipients of the dole was usually specified. These very strongly suggest that the idea of the 'deserving poor' had currency in Edinburgh by the late fifteenth century.<sup>83</sup> Attempts to regulate the poor were not new in Scotland; parliaments of James I and II had both legislated to restrict begging to licensed beggars.<sup>84</sup> The distinction between the undeserving and deserving poor was, however, more clearly articulated in the later period. James IV's parliament in 1503 reiterated James I's act, with a new explicit decree that the old, infirm and blind would be allowed tokens.<sup>85</sup> Edinburgh council made attempts to regulate the activities of

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<sup>80</sup> *St Nich. Cart.* vol. i nos 57, 108.23.

<sup>81</sup> Mr Robert Russel, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1494, ECA, ED12/42, fo 16r.

<sup>82</sup> Eg in Cambridge: M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987), p.262.

<sup>83</sup> See Rubin, *Charity and Community*, Ch.3 esp. pp.69-73.

<sup>84</sup> *APS* ii.8, 49-50.

<sup>85</sup> *APS* ii.251.

beggars and 'vagabonds' at the beginning of the sixteenth century, prompted by fear of the spread of plague. In 1503, with comments on 'the greit danger of the pestilence' and 'greit confluence of sempill peipill and vtheris', the council decreed that 'thair sall be made a certain leidin taiknis to be gevin to the pure failyeit folks to quhat quantity of nummer sall be thocht expedient to the wisdom of the towne, and sic as may be guidlie sustenit be thair almous': all other beggars were to leave the town. Begging without a token incurred penalties of mutilation and exile.<sup>86</sup> In 1505, again in time of pest, 'vagabouns, young fallowis or young husis, haffand ne prettik nore service to life vpon', were called to quit the town within twenty-four hours.<sup>87</sup> And among the legislation to address plague in 1512, it was decided that 'pure folks that ar impotent and aigeit' could have tokens, but 'beggares quhilk ar stark and may wirk' were either to enter service or to leave the town.<sup>88</sup> Similar concerns are implied in the organisation of charity in anniversary foundations.

Nine anniversaries named groups of recipients for a certain number of portions. All of these allocated some portions (between three and twelve) to the Observant Franciscans; eight mentioned the inhabitants of the hospital of St Mary's Wynd, one particularly mentioning widows there; five mention lepers (once specifying the lepers of St Ninian's); two mention inhabitants of St Paul's hospital; and one mentions inhabitants of St Leonard's hospital. The remaining portions (the majority) were then to be distributed at the chaplain's discretion. These groups were all guaranteed, regulated paupers. The Observants had come to Edinburgh in c.1460 and retained their reputation for genuine mendicant poverty.<sup>89</sup> St Mary's hospital was an even safer concern, being run by the town authorities themselves. It had been founded, according to a supplication to the pope of 1438, by the provost and

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<sup>86</sup> *Edinb. Recs* p.97.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* p.107.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* p.137.

<sup>89</sup> Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland*, p.185. And see Christina Strauch's forthcoming thesis, 'Apostolic Poverty at the End of the Earth: The Observant Franciscans in Scotland, 1460-1560' (University of Edinburgh).



community of Edinburgh 'owing to the scarcity of hospitals in Scotland', and had – alarmingly, from a modern perspective – 'twenty-four beds in each of which two can be put up.' It was endowed with lands for the maintenance of the hospital and a priest; the supplication, sponsored by James II, asked that an indulgence be granted to those who gave alms when visiting on feast-days of the Virgin and of St Giles (plus their octaves, and all Sundays).<sup>90</sup> The burgh retained immediate control over the hospital, as shown in a council minute of 1499:

It is ordanit be the counsall of the toun that all the almois oblatiouns and revenewis that cummis [or] may be purchest to the pure bedrentis [bed-ridden persons] in the hospitall of Sanct Marye Wynd sall be disponit and wairit vpoun the said bedrentis; and the chapellane to haif for his fe to serue thame of mess and sacramentis of halie kirk x li of the commoun purs, and to serue thairfore in the queir as the laif [remainder] of the college dois; and for helping of the pure bedrentis to their sustentatioun, ilk nychtbour of the toun, honest persouns, sall pas his day abot in the toun and procure almois to thame, and the chapellane to gift compt of his expenssis and waring to the dene of gild ilk xl dayis anys, and to be written be the dene in his buke; and quha that refusses to pas and procuris nocht the almois sall pay xl d to thair sustentatioun, and heirvpoun the chapellane sall begyne at Witsunday nixttocum to his service, and to gif his bodelye ayth to the fulfilling of thir poynttis.<sup>91</sup>

The chaplain was thus effectively incorporated into St Giles' college; every respectable person in the burgh was personally responsible for asking alms for the hospital from his fellow townsmen; and the chaplain was regularly and frequently answerable to the dean of gild for an account of alms received. The injunction that offerings for the 'bedrentis' should actually be spent on them may suggest that there had been problems with mis-use of funds. Whatever the case, the appearance of the hospital in a good half of the doles within anniversaries suggests that burgesses did perceive St Mary's as a well-regulated hospital, with inhabitants who might worthily receive charity. The injunction that the chaplain should participate in collegiate liturgy moreover furthers the impression that St Giles' college was the clerical establishment not just of St Giles' church but of Edinburgh itself.

Of the other hospitals mentioned, St Leonard's in Broughton, mentioned by John Rynd in 1512, had been refounded in 1493 by the

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<sup>90</sup> CSSR iv.468.

<sup>91</sup> *Edinb. Recs* i.79.

venerable Abbot Robert Ballantyne of Holyrood, and its inhabitants had detailed obligations of prayer for their benefactors, including a daily Rosary.<sup>92</sup> St Ninian's was St Ninian's in North Leith, also founded by Abbot Robert at the same time as his re-endowment of St Leonard's, although it was not founded as a hospital but simply as a chapel with two chaplains: north of the Water of Leith was a suitable place of quasi-exile for the infectiously ill.<sup>93</sup> St Paul's was the work of another abbot of Holyrood, refounded by Abbot Archibald Crawford in 1470.<sup>94</sup> The prominence of abbots of Holyrood in charitable foundations around Edinburgh, and the patronage of these hospitals by Edinburgh burgesses, suggests one form of bond between the abbey and burgh life – although the hospital founded by the burgh authorities received the lion's share of charity to hospitals.

These prescriptions for recipients of charity, then, look as if they are intended to find the poor of Christ, respectable paupers well-qualified to pray for their benefactors. The favour shown to the deserving poor, however, should perhaps not be over-emphasised. In no case was the whole dole at an anniversary given to these specified groups. The highest proportions so allocated in individual foundations are in Andrew Mowbray's anniversary of 1492, when of fifty portions twenty went to particular places (eight to Observant Franciscans, three to lepers, three to the hospital of St Mary's Wynd, three to St Paul's Hospital)<sup>95</sup>; and in Alexander Rynd's anniversary of 1512, when sixteen of thirty-six portions went similarly (eight portions to the Observants, three to St Mary's Hospital, three to St Paul's Hospital, two to St Leonard's Hospital).<sup>96</sup> This still left recipients to be found for the majority of the dole. In several cases there was some further stipulation to regulate this. Walter Bertram's 1495 anniversary refers to those suffering *senectus, pauperies et debilitas*, and Richard Hoppar's in 1503 uses the same formula; Alexander

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<sup>92</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no 117; *Holyrood Lib. App.* II no 23.

<sup>93</sup> ECA, ED12/42, fo 16v; *St Giles Reg* no 130; *Holyrood Lib. App.* II no 24.

<sup>94</sup> MRHS p.177.

<sup>95</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no 106.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* no 117.



Rynd's foundation in 1512 apparently intended to ensure that the recipients were local, the *pauperibus debilioribus ville*. Joneta Paterson in 1523 has the most specific request, asking that the dole go to paupers, 'especially those who are honest men or women who have fallen on hard times'. Sir Robert Hoppar in 1528 also asks that the remainder go to 'honest paupers.'<sup>97</sup> Other foundations do not include such requirements; if any suggestion is made, it is simply that the chaplain or dean of gild distribute the portions 'as seems best'.

Interestingly, the dole which stands out as being the most restrictive is that which accompanied the anniversary celebrated for the Holy Blood confraternity on St Giles' on its patronal feast day of 9<sup>th</sup> November, as specified in 1522.<sup>98</sup> The anniversary was to be celebrated with a dole of seventy-six portions of a wheaten loaf and 6d in cash: thirty-six portions to the Observant Franciscans, four to the sisters of St Mary's Wynd, three to 'the lippir folkis of Sanct Ninianis chappell', and 'the remamnent to honest pure personis that hes maist myster'. Forty-three of seventy-six portions thus went to particular groups, thirty-six to the Observant Franciscans. It may be worth noting that, quite apart from the excellent credentials of the Observants as apostolic poor, there is possibly evidence for a more concrete connection between the Holy Blood confraternity and the Edinburgh Franciscans in the iconography of the Fetternear Banner. This embroidered linen banner of 1515x1520 was, as McRoberts showed, almost certainly made for St Giles' Holy Blood confraternity.<sup>99</sup> The border decoration includes a representation of 'the cordeliere or knotted cord which was an integral part of the habit worn by Franciscan third orders and confraternities.' McRoberts reads this

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<sup>97</sup> *St Giles Reg.* nos 110, 114, 117, 130, App I no 14.

<sup>98</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no 126. This is the feast of the Dedication of St John Lateran, originally the Basilica of the Most Holy Saviour. The first part of November was particularly significant for Edinburgh and St Giles': the universal feast days of All Saints' and All Souls' were on 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> November, so the 9<sup>th</sup> was the octave of All Souls' and perhaps therefore particularly appropriate for an anniversary Mass; the dedication of St Giles' was on 3<sup>rd</sup> November; and one of Edinburgh's annual fairs began on 4<sup>th</sup> November (31<sup>st</sup> October before 1507): *Edinb. Clrs* no lxi.

<sup>99</sup> D. McRoberts, *The Fetternear Banner* (Glasgow, n.d. [1958?]), esp. pp.21-27.

image as indicating simply the bonds of confraternity, but one wonders if the large-scale favouring of the Franciscans in this anniversary foundation might indicate some more active connection.<sup>100</sup> Finally, beyond the dole itself, a further 6s was 'to be gevin to vthir pure folkis that gettis nane of the daill'.

While, then, doles were by no means entirely restricted to the safely deserving, these anniversary foundations do show manifestations of social and civic anxieties in the sphere of public charity.

#### iv. Burial

Endowment of perpetual chaplainries and anniversaries was frequently accompanied by the intention or hope of being buried within the church. Fifteen chaplainry or anniversary foundations before 1530 include explicit indication that the founder intended to be buried in the church; another two indicate that a family member was already buried there; and a further two show that a family member was buried there and the founder intended to be as well. Sir William Preston's burial was also indicated in the 1455 agreement with the Prestons about the new aisle. The testament of Mr John White, who endowed a chaplainry at the Holy Blood altar (1527), asks that he be buried in that chapel.<sup>101</sup> It is also possible, indeed likely, that other founders of chaplainries or anniversaries expected to be buried near the relevant altar; but it is not always clear whether the hearse (*catafalque*) to be

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* pp.18-19.

<sup>101</sup> John de Qwiltnes, burgess, wife and children (1392), *St Giles Reg* no 19; Patrick Lesouris, rector of Newton (1454), *ibid.* no 76; Patrick Baroun, burgess (later provost) (1478), *ibid.* no 89; John Townis, burgess (1484), *ibid.* no 98; Alexander Barcare, vicar of *Petynane* (1486), *ibid.* no 100; Isobel Bras, widow of burgess, and parents (1489), *ibid.* no 104; William Fowlar, canon of Dunblane, (1491), *ibid.* no 105; Andrew Mowbray and wife (1492), *ibid.* no 106; Sir Alex Napier of Merchiston (grandfather of 1493 founder), *ibid.* no 109; Marjorie Redshaw, widow of burgess (1493), *ibid.* no 107; Robert Vaus, burgess (1505), *ibid.* no 115; Joneta Elphinstone and Mr Richard Lawson, burgess (once provost) (1509), *ibid.* App. I no 11; Sir Alexander Lauder of Blyth, provost (1510), *ibid.* no 120; Mariota Carkettill and Walter Chapman, burgess (1513), *ibid.* no 121; William Brown, chaplain, rector of *Mousuald* (1517), *ibid.* no 122; John Paterson (father of 1523 founder – Paterson founded St Sebastian's altar, 1494), *ibid.* App. I no 14; Thomas Hoppa, prebendary, (1527), *ibid.* no 130; Preston of Gorton, *ibid.* no 77; Mr John White, *St Giles Reg* no 131, Testament: NAS, CC8/8/1A/21 (proved 5<sup>th</sup> September 1527).



set up for an anniversary was actually over the tomb, or was simply a construction for purposes of exciting remembrance. The founder's tomb is more explicitly referred to if particular prayers to be said at the tomb are mentioned; whether the absence of such a request should be taken to indicate that the tomb was not in the church is not ascertainable.

The burgh authorities' regulation of who could be buried in the church can be seen in two instances. In the earliest documentation of a burial desired in St Giles, John de *Qwyltnes*, burgess, confirming in 1392 his uncle John's gift to the Holy Rood altar, made the grant to the burgh as well as to the altar, and asked that he, his wife Catherine and their children might have lairs before that altar: this was apparently something to be granted by the burgh.<sup>102</sup> In 1456 or 1466, it is made clear that burial rights were not granted gratuitously: the council records note that, before the provost and baillies, one Patrick Donald granted and promised to give 2 merks annual rent from his tenement in Todrik's Wynd to the reparation of the altar of St Hubert founded by the baxters' craft, 'and till infest it yeirlie, and gif sesing thairof to the said altare for his stane and lair place that he hes befor the said altare, or ellis to remove the said stane and tak it away'.<sup>103</sup> This lack of guarantee of burial even when the tomb-stone was already in place may be reflected in the circumspect tone adopted by Patrick Lesouris, rector of Newton, in his chaplainry foundation at St Mungo's altar (which he had built): there is mention of his tomb before the altar, *si Christus michi requiem ibidem quiescere et sepeliri concedat*.<sup>104</sup> But this concern for the vagaries of fate is unusual, and may simply indicate Lesouris' character.

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<sup>102</sup> 'Lair' is still the Scots term for a plot in a graveyard. See *OED* s.v. 'lair' n.<sup>1</sup>, sense 2.

<sup>103</sup> *Edinb. Recs* i.14.

<sup>104</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no 76.

## v. People

I have found 88 or 89 individual founders of perpetual chaplainries or anniversaries in St Giles – in one or two cases it is not quite clear whether the same individual occurs twice. The largest single group among these are burgesses. Twenty-eight individual founders are known to be burgesses of Edinburgh, including eight provosts of Edinburgh ((Sir) Adam Forrester, Alan Fairnlie, Thomas Cranston, (Sir) Patrick Barroun, Walter Bertram, Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston, Sir Alexander Lauder of Blyth, Mr Richard Lawson).<sup>105</sup> Two more men have the name of a known burgess, but the identity is not quite certain. Five female founders are the wives or daughters of burgesses. Two male lay founders are definitely related to burgesses, three clerical founders are definitely related to burgesses and two other clerics are possibly related to burgesses (sharing a known burgess's surname). Thirty-eight individual founders are therefore burgesses or blood relatives of burgesses, with seven others possibly in one of these categories. Other founders clearly part of the urban community are one widow of a craftsman and one common clerk of the burgh (whose wife shares the surname of a prominent burgess).

Five local landholders appear: Sirs William More of Abercorn, John Forrester of Corstorphine, William Preston of Gorton, Thomas Maxwell of *Tuig*[?] and Archibald Napier of Merchiston (Sirs Alexander Napier of Merchiston and Alexander Lauder of Blyth might also be placed in this category). Of these, More of Abercorn is by far the earliest, granting lands in the 1360s. For three, internal Edinburgh connections are evident: it should be noted that Forrester was the son of Adam Forrester, a burgess who had achieved knightly and landed status through royal service; Preston of Gorton was clearly devoted to St Giles', although he does not seem to have been involved in burgh politics; and Archibald Napier's foundation refers to his

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<sup>105</sup> See *Edinb. Recs* i.248-278.



grandfather Alexander, who had been provost of Edinburgh and was buried in St Giles'.

Clerical founders are a notable group. Seven clerics with prebends or altarages in St Giles' appear as founders, and two others who are probably though not certainly clerics of St Giles'. Two bishops of Dunkeld who appear are involved with St Giles' owing to the foundation made by a previous bishop of Dunkeld (before he was bishop), who was brother to a provost of Edinburgh and related to the Lauders of Hatton.<sup>106</sup>

In twenty-two cases, nothing is known about the individuals named. These are more often those recorded only in the calendar of anniversaries; where there are foundation charters for chaplainries or anniversaries, the donor's status is usually stated explicitly, and other members of their family may also be named. Of these twenty-two, however, it may be worth noting that four share a surname with known burgesses; one was the ancestor of a burgess's wife; one shares the surname of a burgess's wife; and one was a clerk who occurs as a witness to an Edinburgh testament.

If one can judge by the three-quarters of known founders who can be identified with some certainty, then, it seems that individual investment in St Giles' for the purposes of perpetual intercession was primarily the province of Edinburgh's own burgess families, with a sizeable minority of clergy serving in St Giles', and a small number of local landholders who maintained an ongoing involvement with the burgh. It is also noticeable that there is no evidence of patronage of St Giles' on the part of the (relatively few) great magnates who held the title of provost of Edinburgh: Patrick Lord Hailes (1<sup>st</sup> earl of Bothwell) from 1487, and then in James V's minority, Archibald earl of Angus, Alexander Lord Hume, and James earl of Arran.<sup>107</sup> Despite the growing status of Edinburgh as the kingdom's capital, and James III's rhetoric of St Giles's fame and distinction, there is little sign that St Giles' was more widely regarded as anything other than the burgh kirk.

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<sup>106</sup> *St Giles Reg.* nos 67, 87, 94; Shaw, 'Ecclesiastical members of the Lauder family', pp.171-5.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 62, 292, 271-8.

The smaller group of those who chose to be buried in St Giles' had in a certain sense more decisively entrusted care of their posthumous welfare, insofar as it could be influenced by the living, to the clergy and patrons of the church. Of those certainly known to be buried or desiring burial in St Giles, we find three provosts, eight burgesses (often with wives), two widows or daughters of burgesses, one craftsman, one local landholder (Preston of Gorton), one cleric of St Giles', two clerics of burgess families, two clerics with Edinburgh connections (Patrick Lesouris, apparently a client of Forrester of Corstorphine, and Mr John White, who had a dwelling in Edinburgh), and two other clerics, one of whom may possibly be a chaplain in St Giles, and may also be related to a burgess family (the surname 'Brown' is unhelpfully common).<sup>108</sup> Burial was thus still more heavily the province of those prominent in the life of the burgh and its parish church.

### III. Chaplainries and anniversaries: endowment and regulation

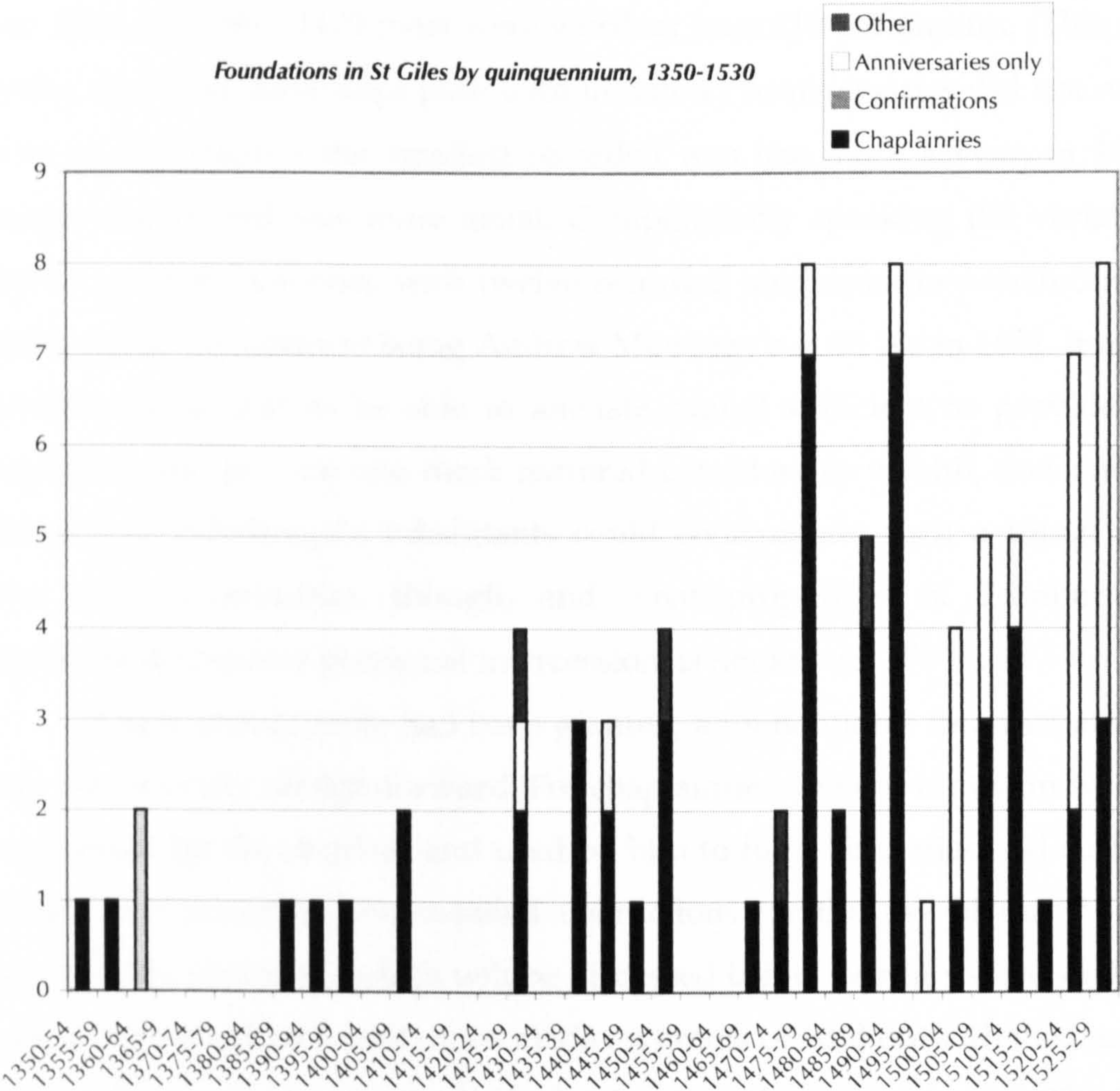
There were up to fifty-four perpetual chaplainries endowed in St Giles' by 1535. As has been described above, foundations were not made at a steady rate. There do not seem to have been many fourteenth-century chaplainries and anniversaries. As we have seen, however, little can be said with confidence about this period, which was disruptive and destructive to endowments and record-keeping. Chaplainry endowment certainly increased considerably after 1425, with a marked peak 1475-95. (See following graph.) Nearly two thirds of chaplainry foundations date from after 1475. Recorded anniversaries – anniversaries endowed by themselves – in contrast take off after 1500, and peak in the 1520s. If anniversaries endowed alongside chaplainries are included in the numbers, they show a

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<sup>108</sup> See list of founders buried in St Giles' in note 101 above. To these are added two more not known to be founders, who requested burial in St Giles' in their testaments: Mr James Murray of Blackburn, burgess, in 1516, and Mr Richard Cok, burgess, in 1522. NAS, CC8/8/1A/1, 5.



pattern unsurprisingly closer to that for chaplainries and are more prominent from 1475. There is still nonetheless a slightly higher rate of foundation after 1500 and a peak in the 1520s. All foundations, however, have low points in the late 1490s and the late 1510s.



The annual value of a chaplainry's endowments varied within a relatively limited range. Among those with fixed annual incomes, the smallest were assigned 10 merks, i.e. £6 8s 4d; the most expensive was Sir Alexander Lauder of Blyth's 1510 foundation, at £22 5s 4d (and more for lamps and an anniversary). On the whole the value of the chaplainry rises over time, and after 1470 most were worth at least £10 per annum. (This can hardly, however, have kept pace with inflation.) Anniversaries did not need to be so expensive – the smallest recorded was one merk a year, in 1467, though one pound was more usual. Comparatively speaking the variation was far greater, however, with twelve recorded anniversaries worth over 5 merks a year, the greatest being Andrew Mowbray's at £8 10s in 1492. It need hardly be said that to be able to alienate capital sufficient to provide an annual income of even one merk required considerable wealth, and only a minority of Edinburgh's inhabitants could contemplate such a thing; just how small a minority, though, and what proportion of Edinburgh's wealthiest did endow perpetual intercession, is not known.<sup>109</sup>

Where annual rents had been granted, a foundation's financial affairs were theoretically straightforward. For chaplainries, the relevant sum was to be collected by the chaplain and used by him to fulfil his duties and sustain himself. For anniversaries, detailed instructions for the use of the money were usually provided, which will be discussed below. Matters were slightly more complicated for foundations made on grants of land outwith the burgh, or outright grants of property in the town rather than annual rents. The five earliest known chaplainry foundations, in the 1360s and 1370s, were founded on land, and a small number of later foundations went on lands or town properties. Joneta Elphinstone's foundation at her new altar of All Saints, St Thomas the Apostle and St Appolonia in 1509 was founded on lands in Cramond-Regis, and a quarter of its mill; this was to yield £10 a year. A third part of a fore-land in Edinburgh's High Street was worth a further seven

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<sup>109</sup> Cf Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland*, p.188.



merks a year.<sup>110</sup> This did not produce an outstandingly lavish foundation, at £10 a year for a chaplain and 7 merks for the anniversary. Joneta had bought the Cramond lands herself (from another woman, Joneta Baillie of Cammo) while the fore-land, stated to be granted with permission of her son, was presumably part of her widow's terce from the estate of her late husband, the former provost Mr Richard Lawson of Hieriggis. Andrew Mowbray, burgess, granted an entirely urban property in 1492: a new double house just built on the south side of the High Street, plus an annual rent of six merks, for a chaplainry, anniversary and lamp at St Ninian's altar. He hoped that the house would provide a surplus of income, which results in more complicated arrangements for dealing with the money. A generous twenty merks each was allocated for the two chaplains' sustenance, and any profit over this forty merks was to go to a locked box, the contents of which every three years were to be used half for alms and half for maintaining the house and chaplainry (repair of vestments, and so forth).<sup>111</sup>

Unfortunately the general absence of accounts relating to St Giles' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries means that we cannot say much about how funds were administered, nor how effective collection of income and financing of chaplainries actually was. It can be said that throughout the period a good deal of responsibility for endowments fell upon, or was taken by, the burgh authorities. Their intentions for this can be seen in 1368, in the St Giles' manuscript register, as Elizabeth Ewan has also noted.<sup>112</sup> The book was a project of the provost (alderman), baillies and council, and was intended to be a comprehensive record under close control. The provost, with the consent of the other officers and the whole community of the burgh, decreed that

per Johannem Rollo communem suum clericum istum librum ad modum registri pro annuis redditibus ecclesie supradicte et altaribus in eadem situatis legatis inscribendis ac cartarum copiis terrarum vendicionibus ac ceteris ad dictum burgum pertinentibus prout in sequenti tabula continentur scribere . et clausum

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<sup>110</sup> *St Giles Reg* App. I no 11.

<sup>111</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 106.

<sup>112</sup> Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, p.141.

sub sigillis aldirmanni et balliuorum obseruandum ne aliquid in alicuius preiudicium infrasciberetur sine eorum consensu ordinavit set prius ab aldirmanno et communitate petita licencia et obtenta copiam sui instrumenti per clericum communem scribi faciat et in presencia communitatis legi ac satisfaciat clerico pro scriptura.<sup>113</sup>

this book should be written by John Rollo the common clerk after the manner of a register, for writing down annual rents left to the said church and the altars in it, and copies of charters of land sales and other matters pertaining to the said burgh, as is contained in the following table; and he [the alderman] ordained that [the book] is to be seen to be closed under the seals of the alderman and baillies, lest anything should be written into it that is to anyone's prejudice without their consent; rather, beforehand someone should ask permission from the alderman and community, and once that is obtained he should have a copy of his instrument written by the common clerk and read in the presence of the community, and pay the clerk for the writing of it.

It does not seem that this excellent scheme was pursued with perfect thoroughness: the *tabula* is rather short, even allowing for later disarrangement; the manuscript is disorderly, and it does not contain all known chaplainry foundations. The idea in 1368, however, is at least clearly visible: it was the burgh's business if burgesses' gifts were diverted from their proper use, and the burgh could do something about it, using precisely burghal resources – the gathering of the officers and community, the officers' seals, the town clerk.

If the manuscript register does not suggest that this was applied quite systematically, it was an idea which was still more or less reflected in general practice. The community of the burgh was sometimes the custodian of altars' endowments.<sup>114</sup> In 1363, William More of Abercorn granted his land of Ravelston to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, 'which at another time we pledged (*inpignoravimus*) to the community for the service of the same altar.' The alderman and community are to dispose of the lands for the service's utility. The lands of Craigcrook were also set (leased) by the council for that altar's benefit.<sup>115</sup> John de *Qwylytnes* granted various rents to the altar of the Holy Rood and to the community of the burgh, confirmed by his nephew of the same name on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1392 before the burgh court. In 1428, Thomas de Fairle, burgess, endowed a temporary chaplainry and anniversary at the

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<sup>113</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 1.

<sup>114</sup> See also Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, p.141.

<sup>115</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 11, 13, 14.



same altar, for which the alderman and community were similarly to dispose of the granted rents for the chaplain's utility.<sup>116</sup>

If the burgh did not have direct responsibility for the endowments of most chaplainries, it still often took on a regulatory or corrective role which ensured proper use of resources. Thus, lands pertaining to St Nicholas's altar were set in 1428, by the chaplain but with the burgh community's permission.<sup>117</sup> In 1447 the burgh authorities took action to improve the condition of two services: those at St Andrew's altar and at the High Altar. St Andrew's chaplain resigned a land in a ruinous state to the provost, baillies and community, and the burgh set it to one William Nutt, burgess, who promised to build in stone (including the roof) within a year. This would presumably make the property more likely to bring in sufficient rents to pay its dues, which besides £3 12s 8d to St Andrew's altar were half a merk to the Lady altar and over a pound to laymen.<sup>118</sup> In the same year, as we have already seen, the provost, officers and community of the burgh also consolidated rents assigned to the High Altar and defined the chaplain's role, for the benefit of the souls of all earlier donors.<sup>119</sup>

Other modes of regulation can be seen in two foundations. Andrew Mowbray, founding his double chaplainry at St Ninian's altar in 1492, gave prudent instructions for the security of the box where surplus rent from the chaplainry's property was to be kept: it was to have two locks, one chaplain was to have keeping of the box, the other chaplain was to have keeping of one key, and the dean of kirk was to keep the second key. The burgh provost Walter Bertram, who founded a valuable chaplainry and anniversary at the altar of Ss Laurence and Francis in 1495, gave the chaplain responsibility for overseeing another foundation of Bertram's in the Dominican church of

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<sup>116</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 19, 36.

<sup>117</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 38.

<sup>118</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 56.

<sup>119</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 57-8.

Edinburgh.<sup>120</sup> The chaplain was to read the indenture made between Bertram and the Dominicans' prior, and the papal confirmation of the foundation, twice a year on the Mondays after Pentecost and Martinmas, in a loud, clear voice (*alta et intelligibile voce*) from the ambo in St Giles' and in Bertram's chapel in the Dominican church, for which duty he received two merks a year; he was to ensure that the prior and convent were celebrating Mass and distributing alms as instructed; and if they were negligent, he was to inform the provost and community of Edinburgh, who had power to correct such defects.

Whether such arrangements worked or not is another matter entirely. One dispute over altarage income is visible in 1502, between Archibald Napier of Merchiston and the chaplain Sir John Crawford. Crawford was chaplain of St Catherine's altar and prebendary of Overmerchiston: this prebend was founded on the lands of Overmerchiston which had been granted for Roger Hog's chaplainry at St Catherine's altar in 1358. The chaplain seems to have claimed that Napier was unlawfully occupying lands pertaining to the prebend, and owed dues to the altar. On 9<sup>th</sup> April 1492, near Edinburgh mercat cross and before a notary, Napier formally asked, *Schir Johne am I awand to 3ou ony thing of 3oure dewiteis pertenyng to Sanct katrine altare for ony tymes bigane?* To which Sir John replied, *Nay 3e ar awand me nocht [th]erfor*. Napier then protested that Sir John's demand of the previous day that Napier remove his goods, tenents and servitors from the lands of Merchiston not be taken to his [Napier's] prejudice.<sup>121</sup> It is not clear whether Crawford's demands were justified, or whether Crawford was claiming possession beyond the terms of the original grant; it may be significant that the notarial instrument refers generally to the lands of Merchiston, while the grant had been specifically of Overmerchiston. Neither is it entirely evident

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<sup>120</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 110; see Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland*, pp.190-191. Foggie's statements about the values of Bertram's foundations in friars' churches and St Giles' are somewhat misleading, as she does not distinguish clearly between the annual sums for chaplainries and those for anniversaries.

<sup>121</sup> NAS, Napier of Merchiston writs, GD430/20.



that this was the end of the matter: did Sir John attempt to uphold his demands, even if there were no dues owed? It may be worth noting that, whatever the grounds of the dispute was, it was very much an internal Edinburgh matter. The land was among St Giles' oldest endowments, while the Napier of Merchiston family were prominent in Edinburgh life. Several Napiers had been provosts in the fifteenth century<sup>122</sup>, including Archibald's father and grandfather, and Archibald had endowed a chaplainry at St Salvator's altar in St Giles' in 1493.<sup>123</sup> The burgh's role in protecting such property thus – perhaps unsurprisingly – did not necessarily make for an absence of friction even between parties who both had a stake in maintaining St Giles' good condition.

The burgh was also treated as a possible guarantor of correct use of resources by many founders. In almost all cases, the right to present to the chaplainry devolved onto the burgh if the founders' heirs failed to make a presentation within a specified time-limit, or if the founder's line died out, as was also common in Bristol<sup>124</sup>. In a small number of cases, the right to present went straight to the burgh after the founder's death. One such is a slightly confusing foundation at St Catherine's altar on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1358.<sup>125</sup> Technically it was David II who made this foundation, but it was made upon lands resigned by William More of Abercorn, primarily for the souls of Roger Hog, burgess, and his wife; and Hog had the patronage during his lifetime, though it was to go to the burgh after his death. Hog therefore seems to be the main figure to benefit from the chaplainry, and it is not clear where the initiative for foundation actually lies. It may be possible that this was essentially a grant by David II to Roger Hog, applied directly to its intended end; or that, upon More's or Hog's request, the grant was made in the king's name in order to secure it still more firmly than by obtaining royal confirmation. (This is not a common mechanism, but there does seem

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<sup>122</sup> *Edinb. Recs* i.250-265

<sup>123</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 109.

<sup>124</sup> Burgess, 'A service for the dead', 183-211, p.199.

<sup>125</sup> *RRS* vi.204, *St Giles Reg* no 4.

to be a rather later example in James I's rather later grant to the chaplains of Corstorphine, on behalf of Forrester of Corstorphine.<sup>126</sup>) Over a century later, a chaplainry foundation by prominent burgess Andrew Mowbray at St Ninian's altar in 1478 assigned the patronage after his own death to the provost, baillies, council and the electors of the secret council of the burgh. This specification is unusual; 'provost, baillies, council and community' is far more common. This arrangement may, however, have been superceded when Mowbray founded his double chaplainry at the same altar in 1492, which followed the more usual pattern of giving patronage to his heirs, and only to the burgh authorities (this time designated the usual way) if his heirs failed to present within twenty days.<sup>127</sup>

Throughout the discussion so far, reference to 'the burgh' and 'the burgh authorities' has been rather vague. On paper it was indeed the whole burgh which had, took or was given responsibility for cure of endowments, or upon whom the right of presentation devolved: the whole burgh, that is, defined as the 'alderman and community' (in earlier texts), or 'provost and community', 'provost, baillies and community', 'provost, baillies, councillors and community', or sometimes 'provost, baillies, dean of guild (or kirk), and community'. In a few cases, however, the community is not mentioned, and the council is the widest circle specified.<sup>128</sup>

In general the burgh's executive arm was its officers and council(s), and there can be little doubt that it was the officers and council of Edinburgh who took executive action regarding the endowments of St Giles' chaplainries. There is some indication that (at least in the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century) a fairly substantial gathering of burgesses tended to be the appropriate context for such dealings, as the register's

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<sup>126</sup> RMS ii.35.

<sup>127</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 93, 106.

<sup>128</sup> The patronage of Thomas Cameron's chaplainry at St Catherine's altar, founded 1487, went to the provost, dean of guild and councillors if his heirs failed to present; that of William Foular, founded 1491, went to the provost, baillies and councillors if his heirs died out; that of Joneta Elphinstone's chaplainry founded in 1509 devolved to the provost, dean of guild, baillies and council if her heirs failed to present in fifteen days. *St Giles Reg* no 112, 105 App I no 11.



preamble suggested. John de Qwylnes's confirmation of his uncle's grant to the Rood altar and the community of the burgh was witnessed by the provost, baillies, seven named burgesses 'and many others', 'in full court' in the tollbooth in 1392.<sup>129</sup> The setting of land on behalf of St John the Evangelist's altar in 1429 was done by Walter de Liberton, provost, John de Turing, George de Fawlaw and John Butler, baillie, John de Bigholme, dean of guild, and the burgesses and community of the burgh; it was witnessed by seven named burgesses – including Thomas de Cranston, Alan de Fairnly and John de Levingtoun, all former provosts<sup>130</sup> - and 'many other burgesses'. In 1438 Thomas de Cranston and his son William proposed to alienate in mortmain certain rents granted by William's ancestor Thomas Kere to the chaplainry at St Duthac's altar: Kere's earlier grant had not been perpetually mortified to the chaplainry, but when Sir Adam the chaplain died ought to revert to William. The Cranstons declared this before the provost, baillies and 'great council' of Edinburgh, and asked them to confirm that chaplains presented by the Cranstons and their heirs would be admitted to the chaplainry in future, to which the council agreed.<sup>131</sup> The instrument recording this was witnessed by the provost, baillies, dean of guild and twenty-six named individuals, 'with many others'; the charter endowing the chaplainry, a few days later, was witnessed by the provost, baillies, dean of guild and seven named men.<sup>132</sup> (The 'great council' is apparently in contrast to the Dozen; the Dozen should possibly be identified with the *secreti* of the burgh mentioned in 1478 by Andrew Mowbray.<sup>133</sup>) The lease to a burgess of land pertaining to the chaplain of St Andrew's altar in 1447, mentioned above, was made by Patrick de Cockburn, provost, Lancelot de Abernethy and William Gray, baillies, and the community; the witnesses were sixteen

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<sup>129</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 19.

<sup>130</sup> See *Edinb. Recs* i.250-251.

<sup>131</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 44.

<sup>132</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 45.

<sup>133</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 93.

burgesses (including prominent men like John de Bigholme and Adam Cant, who both served as dean of guild), and two serjeands.<sup>134</sup>

More specifically, however, it seems that the merchant guild was the body within the burgh entrusted with particular responsibility for intercessionary foundations. It is difficult to pin this down to much detail. It does seem that the dean of guild acted as master of kirk wark for St Giles' in the mid fifteenth century<sup>135</sup>, and in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries seems to have been seen as the right man to keep founders' arrangements in good order. In several anniversary foundations someone is given payment for ensuring that the stipulations were fulfilled, particularly the distribution of doles. In some, the 'dean of kirk' is in this position: he is allocated 18d in Walter Bertram's foundations of 1477 and 1495, and Andrew Mowbray's of 1478; 2s in Mowbray's later 1492 foundation and Richard Hoppar's 1503 foundation.<sup>136</sup> The 'dean of kirk' was also called to hear the terms of Mowbray's chaplainry and anniversary foundation, presumably for purposes of upholding it, when once a year the chaplain was to read out the charter 'before the people and the dean of kirk'. In Joneta Elphinstone's foundation of 1509, however, the dean of guild was given the task of distributing the dole along with the chaplain, and was granted 2s to act as the altar's visitor and ensure that the terms of the foundation were being fulfilled.<sup>137</sup> Alexander Lauder of Blyth in 1510 granted 3s 4d to the dean of guild to ensure that his anniversary was celebrated properly; and Joneta Paterson in 1523 said that the dean of guild should ensure that her heirs were administering the foundation properly, and gave him the right to distrain rents if necessary.<sup>138</sup> The 'dean of kirk' and 'dean of guild' are thus given the same jobs to do, and look rather like the same office under different names.

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<sup>134</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 56.

<sup>135</sup> Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland*, p.142.

<sup>136</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 92, 110, 93, 106, 114.

<sup>137</sup> *St Giles Reg App. I* no 11.

<sup>138</sup> *St Giles Reg* no 120, *App. I* no 14.



The responsibilities of the burgh, council and guild with regard to chaplainries and anniversaries should not be confused with the business of the parish per se. The burgh's role as administrator of properties, for example, was not connected as such to the Scottish burgh-parish identity. Citizens of York gave the town authorities responsibility for administering a range of perpetual foundations, even including a few chantries in religious houses.<sup>139</sup> The Cambridge burgh council was given keeping of the funds for various anniversaries in the town's several parish churches, and there was a similar practice in Venice. Miri Rubin describes the town corporation as 'a perpetual body representing the common will of burgesses': whatever the relationship between town and parish, a secular urban institution could be a secure repository for money and responsibility.<sup>140</sup>

Some aspects of the burgh government's responsibilities in the parish as such are visible. The burgh held the land of St Giles's cemetery, as demonstrated when it was augmented by two grants by the church's provost to the provost, baillies, councillors and community, on the stated grounds that the number of parishioners had become too great for the existing graveyard. In the latter (30<sup>th</sup> July 1496), the provost, Mr William Forbes, granted the north part of his manse and glebe, viz the land and chamber pertaining to the curate, with the school underneath, in return for the promise that the provost (etc) of the burgh would build a new chamber and school, and have an anniversary celebrated for Mr William in the church.<sup>141</sup> Whether the churchyard was generally in the care of the rector or that of the parishioners in Scotland is not entirely clear. Extant Scottish church statutes only mention walls: a of 1242 divides responsibility for the upkeep of churchyard walls, but does say that in some places the custom is for the

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<sup>139</sup> R.B. Dobson, 'Citizens and Chantries in Late Medieval York', in *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, pp.271-3.

<sup>140</sup> Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p.263 and n.162.

<sup>141</sup> *St Giles Reg* nos 88, 111. Since the provostship went with the perpetual vicarage and cure of the parish, according to the papal letter confirming erection of the college (*Vet. Mon.* dcccxxxvii), this was presumably in theory Forbes's chamber, though apparently not his main dwelling.

parishioners to maintain them all, while a statute of 1558-9 seems to imply that the parishioners alone are responsible.<sup>142</sup> That land was transferred to the burgh for purposes of extending the graveyard need not, then, indicate anything canonically unusual. It is nonetheless indicative that explicitly parochial matters could be encompassed by the sphere of burgh action, where the identity of burgh and parish served to promote mutual interests. It was entirely in the burgh's interests to have a cemetery of decent size, and to have a school building in usable condition; it was to the provost's advantage to have building work organised by the town authorities, who did plenty of it, and to have an anniversary at no cost to himself.

The burgh council was also aware of the parish church's needs in the course of its usual business. Monies for St Giles' did not come only from individual intercessory foundations. Various fines and tolls levied in the burgh went to church building funds, the 'kirk wark.' For example, in 1438 five nobles were decreed to be due to the kirk wark from anyone loading a ship without properly recording the goods<sup>143</sup>; in 1450 pigs found running loose in the town were forfeited and went to aid the kirk wark<sup>144</sup>; in 1462 the fine for selling goods at the wrong price was a chalder of wheat, payable to the kirk wark<sup>145</sup>; some of the 1468 customs of corn shipped into Edinburgh went to 'Sanct Geillies wark', updated in 1482 to demand two bolls from every ship.<sup>146</sup> Such dues were decided upon by the burgh council, and levied by its appointees.

That the guild could play a role not only in individual foundations, but also in parish life as a whole, is suggested by the guild's 1518 charter of

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<sup>142</sup> *Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559*, tr David Patrick (SHS 1907), pp.57, 168. The matter is not mentioned in surviving statutes for the three intervening centuries.

<sup>143</sup> *Edinb. Recs* i.5-6. There was also one levy for St Ninian's Aisle in Bruges, the chapel of the Scots merchants there.

<sup>144</sup> *Edinb. Recs* i.12.

<sup>145</sup> *Edinb. Recs* i.20.

<sup>146</sup> *Edinb. Recs* i.23, 46. Further fines to the kirk wark: 1486, p.52, for setting up stalls in unlawful places at unlawful times. 1490, p.60. Fines for any not having the weapons decreed by the provost, baillies and council, 'with avyse and consent of the haill body of the toune', 1494, p.68.



incorporation. This gave the guild a more extensive remit than any craft. The master, councillors and officers of their faculty could check the cargoes of ships sailing from Leith, punish trespassers and punish indwellers of the burgh acting against the burgh's or the merchants interests; they could hold courts of guildry; they could tax the merchants, and – most significantly from our point of view – use the money raised 'to dispone for the reparatioun of the said [Holy Blood] Ile, policy of our kirk, and the commone werkis and erandis of the forsaidis merchands...' The stated desires of the merchants and guild brothers had also included the 'policy of our said kirk'.<sup>147</sup> These references to the kirk's 'policy' – administration and improvement of its condition and resources<sup>148</sup> – show an interest in the whole church's maintenance. The merchant guild and its dean therefore do seem to have become peculiarly responsible for organisation and maintenance within the parish church.

The relationship between Edinburgh's merchant guild, its burgh elites and its burgh government remains somewhat obscure. It is clear, however, that the guild was very closely connected to the council and officers of the burgh, and to distinguish between the activities of the two may be a trifle misleading. This can be seen for the case of Dunfermline in E.P. Dennison's study of its guild.<sup>149</sup> In Edinburgh, the dean of guild was elected at the burgh court alongside other town officials in 1456 and 1462<sup>150</sup> The dean of guild from time to time is listed as acting with the provost, baillies and council, or council and community, in certain pieces of business. These include the 1451 arrangement for the skinners to maintain the service at St Christopher's altar: on that occasion, the skinners brought a notarial instrument recording their arrangement for the altar and asked the 'common clerk, notary and scribe' of the burgh to register it in 'the book of the common guild of the said burgh'.

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<sup>147</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> December 1518. *Edinb. Recs* i.181-185.

<sup>148</sup> See *DOST*, s.v. 'Policie', esp. sense 5.

<sup>149</sup> Torrie, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline', esp. pp.249, 252.

<sup>150</sup> *Edinb. Recs* i.15, 19

This was agreed by the provost, baillies, dean of guild, treasurer and dozen of the burgh.<sup>151</sup> 'Burgh' and 'guild' matters are closely entwined here.

To gain more a precise understanding of the relationships between burgh, guild, parish and intercessionary foundations is difficult. A first difficulty is that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Edinburgh administration, politics and society is not understood in any great detail, for want of both records and study. It is not intended in this thesis to make a full-scale examination of burgh governance and elites, so this is frankly a handicap under which we continue to labour. A second difficulty is one of distinction and identity. On the one hand, it is important to distinguish between the role of the burgh officers, guild, council and community as curators and administrators of privately-endowed intercessionary institutions located in the parish church; the role of the burgh officers, guild, council and community with regard to properly parochial business; and the relationship between 'burgh' and 'parish' on any conceptual level. (It should be clear that rather more is known about the first of these than the latter two.) On the other hand, it should be acknowledged that these distinctions turn out to be rather slippery, for they are in a certain sense false. A burgh and a parish may be different sorts of thing, but in Edinburgh as in other Scottish towns they were in fact the same thing, or at any rate the same people and the same physical space. And given that our sources largely compel us to adopt the view of propertied persons who participated in urban government, it is equally unclear that to distinguish between the activities of the council and the guild is particularly meaningful; or between the council's discharge of duties towards individual founders, and its activities (such as levying fines for the kirk wark) more plainly in the collective interest: the same sort of people were doing much the same sort of thing in all cases. If distinction and identity can be taken as two alternative interpretative themes, then, one might say that the Scottish burgh and Scottish urban parish could be conceived of either as accidentally identical but substantially different, or as

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<sup>151</sup> *Edinb, Recs* i.9-10.



substantially the same and only accidentally distinguishable. At present, with regard to Edinburgh, neither alternative is plainly the more appropriate; and it seems probable that the question of which seemed more apparent to a medieval Edinbourgeois at any given time would be determined by the particular circumstances at hand.

#### IV. Beyond St Giles'

While St Giles' was then very much the burgh church, any identity of burgh and parish should still be seen in a wider context. St Giles' was not the only church patronised by burgesses of Edinburgh, nor the only church in which the burgh authorities had a role to play.

One example of this is provost Walter Bertram, who as we have already seen founded an altar in the Dominican church in Edinburgh as well as in St Giles'. But Bertram also looked beyond Edinburgh, and made quite generous grants of rents to the Franciscans of Haddington, funding a chaplainry for a secular chaplain at St Clement's altar and anniversaries to be celebrated by the friars for himself and his parents. This grant seems to have been prompted by familial piety: the rents funding his parents' anniversary had originally been granted by his father George, and his uncle Sir William Bertram, vicar of Swinton, was one of the named beneficiaries of the chaplainry. Bertram shows the same concern as in his Edinburgh grants to ensure the good administration of his foundation: the rents are to be administered by the chaplain with the counsel of the patron and of the Guardian and convent of the friary (for which the friars are paid 10s), and the chaplain is to act as visitor to ensure that the friars conduct the anniversary properly. Patronage of the chaplainry was reserved to Bertram and his heirs, but if his heirs failed to present or died out it was to go to the baillies and community of the burgh of Haddington: the local secular authority was thus

seen as providing suitable security.<sup>152</sup> Bertram's prominence in Edinburgh thus in no way meant that the burgh parish church was the only focus of his spiritual investment, in his case in part because he had existing family connections outwith the burgh.

Edinburgh's neighbouring parish of St Cuthbert under the Castle should also be remembered. Very little is known about the life of this parish, but there are clear indications that it was by no means strictly divided from life within the burgh. William Touris of Inverleith founded a chaplainry at St Anne's altar in St Cuthbert's in 1486. As with most chaplainries in St Giles', presentation devolved to the provost, dean of guild, baillies and councillors of Edinburgh if Touris's heirs failed.<sup>153</sup> Alexander Currou, vicar of Linvingstone, who had co-founded St Nicholas's chaplainry in St Giles' in 1467, founded a chaplainry at the Trinity altar in St Cuthbert's in 1488. Its patronage was to go to the Edinburgh authorities after his death; the chaplain even had the option of celebrating on ferial days or in bad weather at St Nicholas' altar in St Giles'.<sup>154</sup> John Keir, who founded a chaplainry at St Anne's altar in St Giles' in 1475, describes himself as 'once parish clerk of St Cuthbert under the castle wall of Edinburgh and burgess of the same'.<sup>155</sup> There was thus no conflict involved in playing a full role in the life of both parishes and of the burgh.

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<sup>152</sup> RMS ii.2237; NAS, RMS, C2/13 (pt i), fos 65v-68r.

<sup>153</sup> RMS ii.1692; NAS, RMS, C2/10, fos 44r-45r.

<sup>154</sup> RMS ii.1810; NAS, RMS, C2/12, fo 12v.

<sup>155</sup> NAS, GD1/12/3.



## Chapter Six

### The Cult of the Saints

Mak for the[e] Intercessouris: the saull of Ihesu, The blissit moder of god thyne aduocater and of thyne natur and kyn thi patroun, thi gud angell, The sanct that thow art named efter and otheris that thow has devocioun to, the sanctis that has singulare preuilegis grantis to thaim be god And in that thing that thow desyris, *Quia diuisiones gratiarum multe sunt quod verum est eciam de sanctis in celo*; And gif thair be ony of thi barnis baptisit and decessit sone efter before vse of vrisoun and other devote personis that lufit the that thow traistis be gud apperance be in paradyss thow may pray thaim; And thus thin vrisoun may wele be herd and thow helpit.<sup>1</sup>

*Erat quidem clericus, nomine Wilelmus de Inuyrhkethyn, qui pre nimia studendi affectione quam habebat sensu alienatus est... Interim, communi consilio amicorum, ductus est apud Lochorfrech, qui ibi ut mos est amencium cruci alligatur, nullo sequenti salutis indicio. Deinde ad omnia sanctorum limina Laudonie...*<sup>2</sup>

The saints are all around, in more than one sense. All the citizens of the heavenly court were instantly apprised of prayer in 'the bricht myrrour of diuinite that revelis It to tham'<sup>3</sup>, and these courtiers included one's own lost infants and virtuous neighbours. A material link to them, meanwhile, was found in each parish church, which held at least some fragment of 'the banis and reliquis of haly men'<sup>4</sup>, while the locality was also punctuated by shrines – *omnia sanctorum limina Laudonie* – which offered more particular connections to a saint's life, death or intercessory activity.

These remarks might concern almost any area of medieval Christendom, and there is nothing to suggest that Lothian was an untypical region of northern Europe. Yet the extant evidence concerning the cult of the saints in Lothian – indeed, in Scotland – is in a sense rather superficial. There are relatively few available texts which offer particular insight into the

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<sup>1</sup> From John Ireland's treatise on penance, *The Asloan Manuscript*, p.47. (Punctuation added and *thi* substituted for *y*.) Ireland died in 1495 (see entry in *Oxford DNB*).

<sup>2</sup> R. Bartlett, ed., *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe and Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford, 2003), p.114.

<sup>3</sup> *Asloan Manuscript* p.41.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p.48. Note the priest's prayer as he approaches the altar in the Mass: 'Oramus te, Domine, per merita Sanctorum tuorum, quorum reliquiae hic sunt, et omnium Sanctorum: ut indulgere digneris omnia peccata mea.'

specific character of the veneration of saints: how laymen (or indeed clergy) related to the figures of the saints, and how they used this relationship in their lives. The imagery of the saints is even more limited. Neither text nor image is by any means entirely absent. The recently-edited miracles of St Margaret and St Ebbe, for example, offer detailed illustration of two cults at the height of their popularity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both with some unusual features. John Higgitt has amassed Scottish images of saints, and his investigation of Ninian's iconography has offered a newly nuanced characterisation of his cult.<sup>5</sup> Abbot Bower, in whose voice we hear so much of the surviving incidental detail concerning saints' interventions in Scottish life, was indeed a Lothian man writing from an island monastery in the Forth. But when it comes to detail, what we have is precisely incidental. It would be unwise to attempt remarks upon whether there was any notably peculiar flavour to the culting of saints within Lothian.

What can more profitably be noted are the outlines of the landscape: the saints established in the region by the beginning of the period; the shrines present in Lothian; the choice of saints for public commemoration as witnessed by new dedications; and finally some examples of personal responses to the saints.

## 1. Lothian's protectors

A scarce half of the c.110 parish dedications within Lothian can now be determined.<sup>6</sup> The tendency in both medieval and post-Reformation documents to refer to parish churches simply by place name – 'Pencaitland

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<sup>5</sup> Bartlett, *Miracles of St Aebbe and St Margaret*; J. Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais – or How St Ninian got his Chain', in P. Binski and W. Noel, eds, *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (Stroud, 2001), 187-205; *idem*, 'Imageis maid with mennis hand': *Saints, images, belief and identity in late medieval Scotland*, Whithorn Lecture 2000 (Whithorn, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> The *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* numbers 111 (p.348-9). This does not take account of a few late medieval creations, notably Dalkeith and the Bass Rock, but does include Berwick and, oddly, the non-parochial Kirk o'Field.



parish church' – combined with a general lack of parochial records means that many dedications appear to be entirely obscured. The dedications which are known represent Lothian's diverse ecclesiastical history.

Links to the Northumbrian element of Lothian's past are seen in a relatively high number of dedications to St Cuthbert, at Dalmeny, Calder Clere (East Calder)<sup>7</sup>, St Cuthbert under the Castle, Bothans (Yester), Channelkirk<sup>8</sup>, Langton, Ednam, Eccles, and possibly Hailes (Colinton)<sup>9</sup>. Professor Barrow refers to 'Scottish Northumbria' with regard to the end of the eleventh century: at least some of these parishes reflect structures in place by this time, and may be very venerable dedications. Eccles had three dependent chapels, and its name bespeaks an early ecclesiastical centre; topography suggests that St Cuthbert under the Castle was an early ecclesiastical centre, with Edinburgh St Giles' carved out from its sphere at the burgh's foundation in the twelfth century; and Ednam had several dependent chapels (which later gained parochial status) when it was granted to Durham in 1105.<sup>10</sup>

Dedications to other insular saints are also found. Recent work by Simon Taylor uncovers traces of the route between Iona and Lindisfarne in some place names, including St Bathans, which may refer to St Columba's successor Baithéne.<sup>11</sup> Kirkton or Eagles St Ninian's, also with several dependents which by the late middle ages were separate parishes, is probably an early medieval dedication.<sup>12</sup> Dunbar parish (collegiate) church had a unique dedication to St Bae or Baya<sup>13</sup>, and may have been a

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<sup>7</sup> *Kelso Lib.* nos 348-9.

<sup>8</sup> *Dryb. Lib.* no 185.

<sup>9</sup> *Holyrood Lib.* no 60.

<sup>10</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, 'Pre-feudal Scotland: shires and thanes' in *idem, The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century* (London, 1973), pp.28-30, 62-4; *idem*, 'Rural settlement in central and eastern Scotland', in *ibid.*, p.259. Cowan, *Parishes*, pp.59-60.

<sup>11</sup> S. Taylor, 'Seventh-century Iona abbots in Scottish place-names', in *Spes Scotorum: Hope of Scots: St Columba, Iona and Scotland*, eds. D. Broun and T.O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 1999), pp.43-9.

<sup>12</sup> Barrow, 'Pre-feudal Scotland', p.39.

<sup>13</sup> *Benedict XIII Letters* p.312.

Northumbrian church centre (as mentioned in Chapter One). Tynninghame's church was dedicated to St Baldred, and (as we will see) the parishes of Auldham and Linton (Prestonkirk) were also associated with Baldred's legend and may have been similarly dedicated.<sup>14</sup> The antiquity of the several dedications to St Kentigern (St Mungo) are more uncertain. Kinleith (Currie)<sup>15</sup>, Penicuik,<sup>16</sup> Loquhariot or Borthwick,<sup>17</sup> Bara<sup>18</sup> and Crichton<sup>19</sup> were St Mungo's. St Kentigern of Glasgow was however an important saint for Lothian's place in Scottish history: his lives make him the son of Thenew, daughter of King Lot of Lothian, although he was brought up by St Serf in Culross (Fife) and was best known as Glasgow's patron.<sup>20</sup>

Also within the area of Lothian, five parishes were peculiars of Dunkeld diocese: Abercorn, Cramond, Aberlady, Bonkil and Preston. Cramond was certainly St Columba's church and all four represent Iona's connections to this region, through which passed the road to Lindisfarne.<sup>21</sup>

Slightly more churches were dedicated to saints venerated universally. Among the known dedications, St Giles is Edinburgh's patron, and also Ormiston's<sup>22</sup>; and the Holy Rood was Stirling parish's dedication; St Nicholas appears at Hume<sup>23</sup> and possibly Strathbrock<sup>24</sup>; St Andrew at Gullane<sup>25</sup>, North Berwick<sup>26</sup> and possibly Melville; St Michael at Musselburgh<sup>27</sup>, Linlithgow, Saltoun<sup>28</sup>, Oldhamstocks<sup>29</sup> and Gordon<sup>30</sup>; and,

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<sup>14</sup> Barrow comments that Auldham and Tynninghame are among 'names indicating an early origin'. 'Rural settlement' p.258.

<sup>15</sup> RMS ii.2154.

<sup>16</sup> RCAHMS *Mid and West Lothian*, p.150.

<sup>17</sup> A. Breeze, 'St Kentigern and Loquhariot, Lothian', *IR* liv (2003), p.103.

<sup>18</sup> NAS, GD28/109, 244.

<sup>19</sup> *Midl. Chrs* p.306.

<sup>20</sup> See Alan Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History AD450-1093* (Edinburgh, 1997), Ch.5.

<sup>21</sup> *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, p.353; Taylor, 'Seventh-century Iona abbots', pp.43-9.

<sup>22</sup> RCAHMS *East Lothian* pp.80-81.

<sup>23</sup> *Kelso Lib.* no 240.

<sup>24</sup> RCAHMS *West and Mid Lothian* p.242.

<sup>25</sup> *Dryb. Lib.* no 29.

<sup>26</sup> RMS ii.2068.

<sup>27</sup> NAS, GD122/1/163.

<sup>28</sup> NAS, CC8/8/1A/27

<sup>29</sup> HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Rept App pt VIII, p.87.



unsurprisingly frequently, the Blessed Virgin at Corstorphine,<sup>31</sup> Restalrig, Seton, Haddington, Whitekirk (Hamer),<sup>32</sup> Edrom, Wedale (Stow),<sup>33</sup> Coldingham,<sup>34</sup> and, probably, Airth<sup>35</sup>, Ratho,<sup>36</sup> Mount Lothian<sup>37</sup>, and Fala<sup>38</sup>. Less certainly, a nineteenth-century antiquarian stated that Auldcambus parish church was St Helen's.<sup>39</sup>

The range of known parish patrons was therefore not particularly wide, but by the fourteenth century still connected Lothian to the court of heaven through both figures from local and national ecclesiastical history, and universally venerated members of the Church Triumphant. The importance in parish or personal life of the parish's patron is generally impossible to gauge. Eamon Duffy has found in England that there is little evidence of habitual strong devotion to the parish patron.<sup>40</sup> There were certain places where the patron was highly significant, notably Edinburgh, where St Giles' was regarded as the town's patron, and Loquhariot and Whitekirk, which were cult centres for St Kentigern and St Mary respectively, as will be discussed below. There are also a few instances where parish patrons are called upon as particular patrons at the hour of death. The usual opening formula was

Cum nichil sit cercius morte nec incertius hora mortis hinc est quod ego *N* quamvis egra corpore sana mente condo testamentum meum in huc modo In primis do et lego animam meam deo omnipotenti et beate marie semper virgini et omnibus sanctis paradisi...

Or, as the rare vernacular testament of Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath has it,

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<sup>30</sup> *Kelso Lib.* no 118.

<sup>31</sup> Chapel of St Cuthbert's which became parochial. *CSSR* iv.1301.

<sup>32</sup> *RMS* ii.1329; *NLS*, Adv. MS 15.1.19, no 15; *RCAHMS East Lothian* p.41; see below for Whitekirk.

<sup>33</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Border: An Inaugural Lecture' (Durham, 1962), p.15.

<sup>34</sup> St Cuthbert was apparently added to the dedication when the monks of Durham established a priory there (by 1139). Bartlett, *Miracles of St Margaret and St Aebbe*, p.xv.

<sup>35</sup> *NAS*, C2/11, fos 9v-10r.

<sup>36</sup> *RCAHMS Mid and West Lothian* p.158.

<sup>37</sup> *NAS*, GD18/245.

<sup>38</sup> An indulgence requested in 1436 for those aiding the fabric is to be given to visitors only on certain feasts of the Virgin, suggesting that she is the patron. *CSSR* iv.293.

<sup>39</sup> *NLS*, Adv. MS. 29.4.2 (v), fo 132.

<sup>40</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.162

I, Alexander of Suthyrland of Dunbeth, seyk in body, hayl in mynd, makis my Testament in this manner. In the fyrst, I gif my saul til Almyhti God of hevyn, and til his blessit moder the glorious Virgyn Mary, and til al the haly company of hevyn...<sup>41</sup>

In two or three of the extant testaments, however, another patron is added to the usual combination of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the Saints as recipients of the testator's soul. Sir Archibald Preston of Quhitehill (making his testament before going to Flodden in 1513) adds St Michael to the list; he does not specify a place of burial, asking only that his body be buried 'where God pleases' – perhaps aware of the problems for burial potentially caused by death in battle – but his family's parish church was St Michael's in Musselburgh, and he asks for a two-year chaplainry at the Lady altar there. John Sinclair of Herdmanston (1513) also names St Michael, the dedicatee of Saltoun parish church where Sinclair requests burial. Sir Adam Hepburn of Craggis (1513) again names St Michael. His chosen site of burial is obscured by damage in the manuscript: at the aisle or altar of St John the Baptist in a burgh parish church. Edinburgh or Haddington would seem most likely for the family, but, given the mention of St Michael, perhaps it was Linlithgow.<sup>42</sup> It may be significant that these were all testaments made before Flodden – Michael is a warrior archangel and a favourite of James IV. It may, however, be mere coincidence; Michael was not an uncommon dedicatee for parish churches.

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<sup>41</sup> *Bannatyne Miscellany* iii.96.

<sup>42</sup> NAS, Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/1A, seen in digital facsimile via [www.scottishdocuments.com](http://www.scottishdocuments.com), December 2003 (now found at [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk)). (This is currently the only permitted means of viewing this volume.) The testaments in this volume are those of: (1) Mr James Murray of Blackburn, burgess of Edinburgh, 1516; (2) Sir Adam Hepburn of Craggis, 1513; (3) Andrew Watson, burgess of Edinburgh, 1515 (this is in fact not a true testament, as he died intestate at Flodden, but an inventory of his assets, appointment of executors dative, and allocation of some goods); (4) Elizabeth Hamilton, countess of Crawford, 1517; (5) Mr Richard Cook, 1522; (6) John White, rector of Bothans and Pitcox, 1527; (7) William Balcaskie, burgess of Edinburgh, 1528 (the testament is not narrated here; this is only a confirmation of Balcaskie's executors and the appointment of tutors to his children); (8) Agnes Bathgate, 1529; (9) Margaret Thornbrand, 1530 (an inventory of her goods only; she died intestate); (10) Helen Murray of Polmais, 1529; (11) Jonet Hill, 1530 (her parents appointed her executors dative); (12) John Sinclair of Herdmanston, 1513; (13) Margaret Lawson, 1530; (14) Nicholas Mungall, 1529; (15) Elizabeth Arnot, 1532; (16) Agnes Scot, 1520; (17) James Symontoun, 1530; (18) Thomas Purdy, 1532; (19) Andrew Heriot of Traproun, 1531. The year given is in each case the earliest available, whether this is the date of writing, inventorying or proving.



## II. Shrines within Lothian

Whether or not they are the same *limina* which were referred to in the miracles of St Margaret, several shrines in Lothian appear to have been sites of devotion and the objects of pilgrimages in the late middle ages. The best existing survey of pilgrimage sites in Scotland is Peter Yeoman's *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, which includes some coverage of pilgrimage within Lothian, mentioning the Bass Rock, Whitekirk, Musselburgh (the Loretto chapel) and Restalrig.<sup>43</sup> Yeoman's book is in general a very useful survey, but it is unfortunate that, being aimed at the general public, it is not fully referenced; and it is focused more on material culture than documentary evidence. Here a more detailed survey of individual sites and some suggestions about their significance are offered.

### i. St Ebbe of Coldingham

Robert Bartlett's recent edition of the life and miracles of St Ebbe from a fifteenth-century Durham manuscript includes a discussion of the development of St Ebbe's cult at Coldingham, to which nothing substantial can be added. To summarise: Ebbe was an abbess at Coldingham who lived a holy life while her nuns abandoned the rule. Her tomb was forgotten until monks of Durham revived the cult, probably in the mid twelfth century, but this revival was rather unsuccessful until a humble local layman was given a vision of the location of Ebbe's private oratory. He rebuilt the chapel, which rapidly attracted pilgrims as miracles were wrought there.<sup>44</sup> The miracles in the collection are also apparently twelfth century (the text may well be by

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<sup>43</sup> Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (Historic Scotland, 1999), pp.49-52.

<sup>44</sup> Bartlett, *Miracles of St Aebbe and St Margaret*, pp.xiv-xvi,xx-xxii, 20-31.

Reginald of Durham).<sup>45</sup> Coldingham's importance as a pilgrimage site apparently decreased in the late middle ages, and it is primarily significant as the object of intense and unedifying disputes between Durham and Dunfermline from the Great Schism onwards.<sup>46</sup> St Ebbe's presence was nonetheless valued once it was under threat: one of the reasons given by the Dunfermline prior of Coldingham to Robert II in 1379 to justify the detachment of Coldingham from the (newly 'schismatic') English house of Durham was that 'the monks of Durham had secretly taken the bones of St Ebbe and relics of St Margaret queen of Scotland from Coldingham to Durham.'<sup>47</sup>

## ii. St Baldred's bodies

St Baldred is (unusually) a saint whose cult was native to East Lothian, concerning whom, as we will see, tradition was being passed on locally in the mid fifteenth century. Whether or not his shrines were still sites of particular devotion is less clear. Baldred's cult is a locus of intersection between Lothian's several heritages, and merits some detailed examination.

The *lectiones* for St Baldred's feast (6<sup>th</sup> March) in the Aberdeen Breviary offer the most comprehensive narrative concerning this saint's life. They describe him as St Kentigern's 'suffragan', who 'flourished in Lothian with virtues and bright miracles.' He favoured lonely places and islands, in particular spending time on the Bass Rock, contemplating and memorising the life and sanctity of his teacher St Kentigern and above all the most bitter Passion of Christ. Kentigern assigned to him the cure of the parishes of Auldham, Tynninghame and Preston (all East Lothian), which he exercised

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* pp.xviii-xx, 66-7.

<sup>46</sup> R.B. Dobson, 'The last English monks on Scottish soil: The severance of Coldingham priory from the monastery of Durham 1461-78', *SHR* xlv (1967); Norman Macdougall, 'The Struggle for the Priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488', *IR* xxiii (1972).

<sup>47</sup> Raine, *North Durham*, Appendix p.103; Dobson, 'The last English monks on Scottish soil', p.5.



admirably, preaching and restoring the sick to life. Once he miraculously moved a rock which caused trouble to sailors on the Forth, by planting his staff as if a mast so that the rock, as if blown by a fair wind, moved to stick to the coast. 'St Baldred's Boat' can indeed be seen marked on modern maps. When he died, the three parishes began to quarrel over possession of his relics; but overnight the relics were multiplied, and each church received an identical *corpusculum*.<sup>48</sup>

Highlights of this narrative are found some seventy years earlier, in the *Scotichronicon*. Abbot Bower expanded Fordun's account of St Kentigern with a paragraph about Baldred:

Alius [disciple of St Kentigern] Sanctus Baldredus qui sibi [Kentigern] fuit suffraganeus. Cuius corpus apud Haldhame apud Lynton et apud Preston nonnulli ferunt esse humatum qui cum inter parochianos harum trium ecclesiarum contencio eriretur pro corpore et ad arma se transferrent, nocte sequenti omnes sopor invasit et diluculo evigilantes invenerunt tria feretra corporaque consimilia sibi per omnia continencia predictis tribus ecclesiis singillatim advecta et humata.

Another [disciple of St Kentigern] was St Baldred, who was [Kentigern's] suffragen. Some say that his body is buried at Aldhame, at Linton and at Preston, for among the parishioners of these three churches a quarrel over the body arose and they betook themselves to arms. In the following night, they were all overcome by sleep and, when the morning dawned, they found three shrines and bodies, identical to each other in every respect, which were severally taken and buried in the said three churches.

The Coupar Angus MS, however, gives the places as 'apud Haldhame apud Tynenham et apud Lynton ecclesias in Laudania.'<sup>49</sup> This variance between *Scotichronicon* manuscripts, and the Aberdeen Breviary, perhaps suggests that there were not three parishes in the mid fifteenth century which were well known to have had claimed relics of St Baldred. Nonetheless, the fact of Bower's addition to Fordun suggests a continuing local tradition about Baldred, as will be discussed further below.

The figure of Baldred as seen in these late medieval Scottish texts is identifiable with the subject of a Northumbrian cult visible between the late eighth and twelfth centuries. Donald Bullough has helpfully drawn together the known Baldred references in an article on Alcuin's *Versus de Patribus*

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<sup>48</sup> *Breviarium Aberdonense*, Pars hyemalis, Proprium sanctorum, fos 63v-64r.

<sup>49</sup> *Scotichronicon* ed. Watt et al., Lib. III c. xxix.

*Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*.<sup>50</sup> The predominant and better-documented of these strands concerns an eighth-century Northumbrian hermit, as seen in Alcuin's poem itself, where 69 lines are devoted to describing the heroic sanctity of *Balthere* the hermit, *bellipotens... miles* of the Cross. When on a craggy island, meditating upon Heaven, a soul tormented by demons suddenly fell at Balthere's feet. The soul explained that he had been a deacon who had once touched a woman unchastely, and, now dead, had for a month been pursued by demons who claimed that he would not escape punishment, 'no, not if you were clasped in the arms of St Peter.' Balthere, while acknowledging that he was 'a hundred times less worthy than that prince of the apostles,' immediately interceded for the soul with tears and prayers, 'until he saw with his own eyes that it was carried over the stars in Heaven in the arms of angels.' Balthere was also privileged to imitate St Peter on another occasion when he fell off a cliff, but found himself able to walk on the water until he came upon a boat. Having recounted these miracles, Alcuin then turns to another hermit, Echa.<sup>51</sup>

This Balthere is securely identified with the Baldred of Scottish sources owing to his appearance in annals which give the death of a hermit called Balthere at Tynninghame on 6<sup>th</sup> March 756: this then includes both a place associated with Baldred in Scottish sources, and the date of his feast. Balthere's death is noted in fullest form in a twelfth-century compilation, Simeon of Durham's *History of the Church of Durham*:

Huius pontificatus [Cynewulf of Lindisfarne's episcopate] anno vii., regni vero Eadberti vicesimo, vir Domini et presbyter Baltherus, qui vitam anachoreticam in Tiningaham duxerat, viam sanctorum patrum ingressus est, migrando ad eum qui se reformavit ad imaginem Filii sui pridie nonas Martias.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Donald Bullough, 'Hagiography as patriotism: Alcuin's "York poem" and the early Northumbrian "vitae sanctorum"', in *Hagiographie Cultures et Sociétés iv<sup>e</sup>-xii<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979) (Paris, 1981), pp.352-4.

<sup>51</sup> Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. P. Godman (Oxford, 1982), pp.xxxix-xlvii, 104-9. Godman argues that the poem was composed in AD782x793.

<sup>52</sup> Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursus istius, hoc est, Dunhelmensis, ecclesie: Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. D. Rollason (Oxford, 2000), pp.80-81 (Lib. II c. ii).



Simeon's sources may have included the 'Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses' - which in their current form were probably compiled at Durham in the twelfth century - or the sources of these annals themselves. The 'Annales' record the death of a Balthere at Tynninghame in 756, without further detail. Simeon's *Historia Regum*, Roger of Howden's *Chronica* and (most significantly from the Scottish point of view) the *Chronicle of Melrose* also note the death of Balthere the hermit in 756AD: none of these texts, however, mentions Tynninghame.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, a St Balthere's church at Tynninghame is noted as having been destroyed in 941, in Simeon's *Historia Regum* and *Historia de sancto Cutliberto*. This destruction is also recorded in the *Chronicle of Melrose*, where, significantly, the form used is *ecclesia sancti baldredi in tiningham*, although the 756 entry clearly gives the name *balthere*.<sup>54</sup> Simeon of Durham also notes that part of Balthere's relics, along with some of other Northumbrian saints, including St Ebbe, were translated to Durham 'at the command of a vision' by a priest named Elfred in the early eleventh century. Balthere's relics are included, as David Rollason notes, in a mid-twelfth-century Durham relic list.<sup>55</sup> However, there is no trace of an active cult of Balthere at Durham after this point: Rollason notes that his feast is not found in Durham calendars after 1100. It should perhaps be particularly remarked that he is omitted from a Durham calendar produced for or used at Coldingham priory, which one might have expected to include a saint with both Scottish and Durham connections if any calendar were likely to.<sup>56</sup>

Two matters which remain opaque are whether the transformation of 'Balthere' into 'Baldred' involved any substantive change in the tradition, and how the Tynninghame hermit was identified as a 'suffragan' of St

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<sup>53</sup> W. Levison, 'Die "Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses" kritisch untersucht und neu herausgegeben', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* xvii (1961), pp.475-6, 482, 496. Bullough, 'Hagiography and patriotism', p.353.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*; A.O. and M.O. Anderson, *The Chronicle of Melrose* facsimile edition (London, 1936), pp.3, 13.

<sup>55</sup> Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, ed. Rollason, pp.162-5, and n.29.

<sup>56</sup> Symeon, *Libellus de Exordio*, ed. Rollason, p.81 n.6, p.163 n.29; F. Wormald, ed., *English Benedictine Kalendars after AD1100* vol. i (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1939), pp.161-79; London, British Library, Harley MS 4664 ('The Coldingham Breviary'), fos 126 ff.

Kentigern of Glasgow. (One might indeed wonder whether these two changes reflect one process of development.) Although no firm conclusions can be drawn, some relevant points can be drawn out.

First, it is highly probable that the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish Baldred material was taken primarily or entirely from local East Lothian tradition, whether oral, written, or indeed artistic and monumental (in the relevant parish churches). There is practically no indication of cult outwith this locality. There are no known altar dedications to Baldred, nor does he appear in literary and liturgical contexts among groupings of well-known Scottish saints (though an exception to this will be discussed below). As we have seen, it was Bower who added Baldred into Fordun's narrative.<sup>57</sup> Given that Bower was a native of East Lothian and an inhabitant of an island in the Forth (who well knew the danger of its waters), his interest in Baldred seems likely to derive from local knowledge. This insertion by the 'Scriptor' – as Bower describes himself, in contrast to Fordun the 'Auctor' – was thus perhaps the first entry of a piece of local history onto the national stage.

Second, this tradition on the one hand seems genuinely to concern the figure of the Northumbrian Balthere, while on the other it looks as if *Balthere* and *Baldred* of Tynninghame may have become separated in historiographical thought by the late twelfth century. The former claim is borne out by the date of Baldred's feast, and also by the incidents in Baldred's life. These are not identical with what is known of Balthere, but they do seem to echo the Balthere material. It is clearly anachronistic for Baldred to be described as 'suffragen' or 'parish priest', but his responsibility for three churches which would later become parochial is very reminiscent of a 'minster' model of local pastoral care, which Balthere *presbyter*, as he appears in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, could well have exercised. Alcuin's description of Balthere's meditations on a rocky island seems to correspond to the narrative in the

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<sup>57</sup> Besides Fordun's silence, Andrew of Wyntoun also does not mention Baldred, and indeed scarcely mentions Kentigern beyond noting that he was fostered by St Serf (patron of Wyntoun's own priory of Loch Leven). Wyntoun, ed. Amours, iv.82.



Aberdeen Breviary of Baldred's time spent on the Bass Rock. If Balthere's walking on the water is not noted in Scottish sources, the Aberdeen Breviary's account of Baldred's sailing the rock to shore at least indicates a saint similarly known to enjoy God's particular favour in dangerous watery conditions. The incident of the multiplying bodies in the *Scotichronicon* and the Aberdeen Breviary *lectiones* does not include any mention of relics kept in England: a division and translation of relics could, however, feed in to (or perhaps even give rise to) a tradition of relic multiplication.

The separation of *Balthere* and *Baldred* is suggested by two things. One is the change of name in the *Melrose Chronicle* as mentioned above: *Balthere* is said to die in 756, but St *Baldred's* church in Tynninghame is mentioned in 941. Both these entries are in a section of the Chronicle copied in 1157x1189.<sup>58</sup> This would seem to suggest that the church was known under the later name by this point; and since the reference to Balthere does not give the place of his death, it is possible that the compiler did not identify the two saints. The compilers and copiers of the Chronicle, however, did not fear inconsistency, so one cannot make very confident claims about the state of their knowledge. At any rate, later readers of the Chronicle would have no reason to identify *Balthere* and *Baldred* unless they were informed otherwise, which would be (as far as is known) primarily possible through access to Simeon's *Libellus de Exordio* or other texts with material related to the 'Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses.' Whether or not either the *Melrose Chronicle* or Durham historiography were much read in later medieval Scotland is, however, an entirely open question. Bower's only apparent use of Simeon is the inclusion of an anti-Scottish miracle of St Cuthbert which Bower denounces as apocryphal. Given that Bower says this was taken from a 'legenda Anglicana' it would seem more likely to be from a version of the History of St Cuthbert than from a copy of the *Libellus de Exordio*.

The other indication of separation is the association with Kentigern: to consider *Balthere* to be Kentigern's disciple seems on the face of it impossible

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<sup>58</sup> *Melrose Chronicle*, p.xxvii.

to maintain, given that Balthere's death is consistently placed in 756 whereas Kentigern was traditionally put in the sixth century. This is not necessarily a strong point, however; as Macquarrie has detailed, Kentigern's lives suggest various chronological impossibilities, and Kentigern was, like the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, supposed to have lived for over a century.<sup>59</sup> More certainly, once Baldred had been identified as a 'suffragen' of Kentigern's – a pastor authorised by a Brittonic saint whose education was attributed to the Gaelic St Serf – he was placed within a national reading of Scotland's ecclesiastical history which effectively ruled out consideration of Baldred's Northumbrian context.

If the foregoing observations are valid, it seems likely that the identification of Baldred as a disciple of Kentigern's was similarly a local tradition. It does not seem that he was much associated with Kentigern on a national level: Baldred does not feature in any extant lives, complete or fragmentary, of Kentigern, and I am not aware of any cult of Baldred in Glasgow. Why Baldred is associated with Kentigern as his so-called 'suffragen' is unclear. While Kentigern is associated with East Lothian by his birth, Northumbrian Balthere fits rather poorly into the Brittonic (if anything) sphere of King Lot and St Thenew; the connection seems unlikely to arise directly through this milieu. Furthermore, although Kentigern's life mentions the former *southern* extent of the diocese of Glasgow, there is nowhere (as Barrow pointed out) any suggestion that Lothian pertained to a Scottish bishop other than St Andrews<sup>60</sup>; and if Glasgow historians were aware of an East Lothian 'suffragen' of St Mungo, one might have expected some pushing of this claim in *vitae* or liturgical material. Hence it seems that the identification was made either primarily locally, or after the twelfth-century production of new texts about Kentigern, or indeed both.

Nothing more concrete can be offered. From a point of view of interest in the later medieval cult, the most pertinent point to take from the problem

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<sup>59</sup> Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland*, Ch.5, esp. pp.117-121.

<sup>60</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Border: An Inaugural Lecture' (Durham, 1962), p.14.



of Baldred's origins is probably that, although evidence is not plentiful, it looks as if Baldred, like St Fillan, had a long-established local cult connected to particular places, even if it is not until the mid fifteenth century that he makes an appearance in a larger arena. There is little further that can be said about this cult before the fifteenth century, but his status as patron of at least one parish church, and his association with physical features of the landscape, presumably helped in the maintenance of tradition. It may be worth noting that one well-known Scot bore his name: Baldred Bisset, the author of historical summaries used in the Great Cause, who flourished at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A Sir Baldred, late rector of Restalrig, was also commemorated in an undated grant to Newbattle by a merchant of Leith.<sup>61</sup>

As already said, Bower's inclusion of Baldred is not apparently accompanied by a marked spread of his cult beyond East Lothian. There do not seem to be any known altars dedicated to him, nor do any extant Books of Hours include separate *memoriae* for him. However, there is one indication that he was better-known than the thin evidence otherwise suggests. It is noteworthy that Baldred is among the fairly small group of Scottish saints included in calendars of 'mass market' books of hours produced at Rouen for the Scottish market.<sup>62</sup> The adaptation of such books of hours to appeal to a Scottish audience is rather unsystematic, and the saints included cannot be assumed to be Scotland's most popular as such. Baldred's inclusion is nonetheless interesting. The mere fact of his inclusion's apparently being standard may have brought his name to the attention of Scots who otherwise would not have had much reason to encounter his cult. Moreover, the ideas about Scottish devotions acquired by Rouen ateliers presumably came from Scottish manuscripts, or Scottish people, or both. If people were involved, the most likely carriers of ideas would seem to be merchants; and given that

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<sup>61</sup> Watt, *Biographical Dictionary*, pp.49-51; *Newbattle Reg.* no 48.

<sup>62</sup> See Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A Late C15 Illuminated MS from Rouen* (V&A, L.475-1918) (Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984).

most of Scotland's shipping came via east coast ports, and Edinburgh was increasingly prominent among these, it seems possible that Baldred's name was conveyed to France by merchants working from the Firth of Forth. Users of shipping in the Firth would indeed have good reason to practice devotion to Baldred. The *prima facie* slightly surprising appearance of this local saint in such books of hours is thus perhaps best seen precisely as the fortuitous transmission of a local cult into an international context.

Baldred's local prominence is more securely demonstrated in the new parish church built upon the Bass Rock by the Lauders of Bass after 1493, which was dedicated to St Baldred, undoubtedly in commemoration of Baldred's eremitical life on the Rock. (whether or not Lauder was, as Cowan argues, more interested in rights to teinds of Solan geese).<sup>63</sup>

### iii. St Kentigern's Cross

As already mentioned, the parish church of Loquhariot or Borthwick was dedicated to St Kentigern. Andrew Breeze has recently argued that the name 'Loquhariot' contains a reference to a Brittonic holy man, and thus that the association with Kentigern should be associated with the twelfth-century elaboration of Kentigern's cult.<sup>64</sup> Whatever the truth of this, Loquhariot was firmly associated with Kentigern in the later middle ages. The late twelfth-century *Vita* by Jocelin mentions Kentigern's penchant for erecting crosses, with specific reference to two miraculous examples: one in Glasgow, which was found to be too large for men to set upright, but which, at Kentigern's prayer, was raised up by an angel; and the other at *Lothwerverd*, where Kentigern stayed for eight years. The cross was wonderfully made from sand which, again at Kentigern's prayer, massed together into a cross 'quam nec sol urens per diem, nec gelu per noctem, nec aeris aliqua inclementia

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<sup>63</sup> I.B Cowan, 'Church and Society in the fifteenth century', in *idem* ed. J. Kirk, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.177; Cowan, *Parishes*, p.15; *Extracta e variis chronicis* p.255.

<sup>64</sup> A. Breeze, 'St Kentigern and Loquhariot, Lothian', *IR* liv (2003), pp.103-7.



dissolvere valet.’<sup>65</sup> Jocelin glosses this as a figure of the resurrection of the body, ‘preostendens quod corruptabile nostrum induet incorruptionem.’ The more concrete virtue of the monument was also great: ‘Ad hanc etiam crucem lures variis languoribus gravati, et maxime furiosi, et a demonio vexati, ad vesperum vinciuntur; et mane multociens sani, et incolumes inventi ad sua libere revertuntur.’ The Glaswegian cross was of similar efficacy.<sup>66</sup> The ongoing fame of the cross at Loquhariot is seen in the unsuccessful attempt to restore the reason of William of Inverkeithing, mentioned in St Margaret’s miracles.<sup>67</sup> Sir David Lindsay could be referring to either cross – or both – when his ‘Experience’ states,

Thay bryng mad men, on fuit and horsse,  
And byndis thame to sanct Mongose crosse.<sup>68</sup>

However widespread or otherwise the practice may have been, then, it was at least still known about by the pre-Reformation generation.

#### iv. Our Lady of Whitekirk

The parish church of Hamer or Whitekirk had been held by Holyrood Abbey from Holyrood’s earliest days: David I granted its lands to the abbey, and the bishop of St Andrews confirmed the church to Holyrood in c.1130. Cure in the parish was exercised by canons of Holyrood by 1365; the rectory was confirmed as appropriated to Holyrood in 1398, and a vicarage established, which still seems to have been held by canons of the abbey.<sup>69</sup> The object of devotion at Whitekirk was the Blessed Virgin. The

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<sup>65</sup> Cf. Ps 120: 6 ‘Per diem sol non uret te neque luna per noctem.’

<sup>66</sup> A. P. Forbes, ed., *Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern* (Edinburgh, 1874), pp.233-4, pp.109-111.

<sup>67</sup> Bartlett, ed., *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, pp.114-5.

<sup>68</sup> Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, ‘Off imageis vsit amang Cristin men,’ *The Monarchie*, in *Works*, ed. D. Hamer, 4 vols, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1931-1936), vol. i, p.269, ll.2373-4.

<sup>69</sup> Cowan, *Parishes*, p.209.

circumstances which prompted the cult are not clearly known, and there is strictly limited evidence concerning the site.<sup>70</sup>

Fordun's Chronicle mentions the Blessed Virgin's aid in limiting the success of English invasion of Lothian in 1356: the bad weather which prevented supplies reaching Edward III is attributed to her intercession, after some Englishmen despoiled her statue at Whitekirk 'which no man had touched with evil intent without retribution' ('quam in malo nullus hominum impune tetigerit'). The statue is described as 'decorated with gold necklaces, rings and bracelets and other precious ornaments, which she wore as an adornment given her by the pious offerings of the faithful' ('imaginem... annulis aurei, monilibus et armillis, aliisque ornamentis decoratam, que fidelium oblacione ipsa decenter gestabat').<sup>71</sup> The presence of such gifts to the Virgin indicates that there was apparently something at least of a cult at the church. Abbot Bower elaborates on this, drawing on the account given by a local man who was twelve at the time of the attack. Bower strongly asserts the credibility of his source by echoing John's Gospel: 'Modus autem spoliacionis imaginis Virginis huiusmodi erat, sicut qui vidit testimonium perhibuit, et credo quia verum est testimonium eius...' (Et qui vidit, testimonium perhibuit: et verum est testimonium eius.' Jn 19:35)

This man narrated how one Englishman had clambered into the high altar to steal Our Lady's jewellery and other items from the church, but as he was leaving, 'a certain crucifix nearly two feet long fell suddenly from above to avenge His despoiled mother' ('subito a desuper cecidit quedam imago vix bipedalis crucifixi, ultoris matris sue spoliata'), killing the thief. As Fordun's chronicle also noted, two canons of Holyrood who had been serving there had been abducted by other English pirates, but ended up

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<sup>70</sup> An extremely confused origin legend, involving Countess Agnes of Dunbar, a hermit, and many basic factual errors (e.g. the claim that James I founded Holyrood), is reportedly taken from a copy of 'a document' in the Vatican Library: P. Hatley Waddell, *An Old Kirk Chronicle, being a history of Auldham, Tynningham and Whitekirk in East Lothian from Session Records, 1615-1850* (Edinburgh, 1893), pp.137-140.

<sup>71</sup> W.F. Skene, ed., *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, vol. i (Edinburgh, 1871), pp.374-5; cf. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XIV c.xiii, and notes.



being put on a different ship from that of the robbers who had got away from Whitekirk: the robbers were shipwrecked and drowned, while the canons reached England alive and were allowed to return home. 'Qui, ut postea ambo juraverunt, in tantum confortabantur per beatam Virginem, ac si eandem tunc aspexissent presentem.'<sup>72</sup>

From these accounts, it would seem probable that this was a miraculous image, comparable to that of Our Lady of Walsingham, or possibly an image commemorating a Marian apparition. There is also a 'St Mary's Well' near the church.<sup>73</sup> The fame and popularity of the shrine cannot be clearly gauged. A supplication was made to Clement VII in January 1386 to ask that indulgences be granted to the faithful who visited on major feasts and aided the church's maintenance. This stated that the church was 'situated a day's journey from the boundaries of the enemies of the realm, and renowned for miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, through the intercession and merits of St Mary', which may contain a hint that Whitekirk had again suffered from English hands in Richard II's 1385 Scottish campaign.<sup>74</sup> Whether one reads this as evidence primarily of the chapel's popularity or of its poverty, someone at least was paying attention to it.

A good generation later, in 1427, a supplication to Martin V suggests a more established arrangement, but also has evidence of an apparently unedifying dispute. One John Vussale, 'layman, poor hermit', says that for several years he has lived in 'the hermitage of the chapel of St Mary, called Whitekirk', in which chapel 'alms from Christ's faithful are disbursed and also lights are wont to be received, erected and guarded for a certain salary by a hermit or custodian, instituted and deputed for the purpose by the Abbot of the monastery and rendering account.' John, adding that he is rendered unable to work by lameness, states that he wishes to fill this position for his lifetime, and, being present at Curia, 'supplicates that the

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<sup>72</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XIV c. xiv. Bower adds the canons' reaction.

<sup>73</sup> Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, pp.50-51.

<sup>74</sup> CPL iv.253, *Clement VII Letters* p.112, 13<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1386.

Pope would depute him to the said hermitage and to exercise the office of guardian with the customary salary and emoluments... and would grant indult that for his lifetime he be not removed' by the abbot and convent.<sup>75</sup> This supplication suggests a well-regulated pilgrimage site; the faithful presented offerings in cash and wax to the attendant, and the latter arranged and tended the candles. Yet there was clearly a serious conflict between Holyrood and its appointee over rights to the income derived from this. That John had travelled to the Curia himself suggests that his role as 'hermit' was not primarily religious as such; at any rate, he was not apparently a committed recluse. The post may therefore have been more in the nature of a corrody for some infirm person. This strenuous effort to establish his position for life also suggests that Whitekirk's pilgrimage trade brought in no small sum annually. It is unfortunately not known which party, if either, was behaving unjustly, nor how the matter was resolved.

In any case the reputation of Our Lady of Whitekirk was not fatally damaged by the affair. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini famously made a barefoot pilgrimage there after near-shipwreck on his way to Scotland in autumn 1435 while secretary to the Cardinal of Santa Croce.<sup>76</sup> It was presumably on local advice that he chose this shrine. Bower's writing in 1440 demonstrates the existence of a local tradition. The adaptation of this chapter from the *Scotichronicon* which appears in the *Liber Pluscardensis* may – if it is not simply a result of abridgement – also indicate that knowledge of the 1356 miracle was known to be a particularly Lothian interest:

'De quo [Edward III's inability to receive supplies] *dictum est in Laudonia* quod propter vindictam expoliacionis ecclesiae Albae Dominae haec omnia sibi advenerunt incommoda' ('Concerning which, *it is said in*

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<sup>75</sup> CSSR ii.172-3, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1427. McRoberts interprets his role as 'coastguard and lighthouse keeper': D. McRoberts, 'Hermits in medieval Scotland', *IR* xvi (1965), pp.204-5.

<sup>76</sup> Pius II, *Commentaries*, ed. Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta, vol. i (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), pp.18-21. J.H. Burns, *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle* (Edinburgh, 1962), frontispiece and p.39.



*Lothian* that all these inconvenient things befell him as punishment for the despoiling of the White Church of [Our] Lady.' Emphasis added).<sup>77</sup>

Little can be said of Whitekirk's fortunes after the mid fifteenth century. James IV made several donations there, including one in May 1497 which included a request for three trentals and a distribution to poor and leper folk; the sick may have been seeking Our Lady's shelter.<sup>78</sup> Whitekirk's popularity had perhaps declined by the pre-Reformation period; there is no positive evidence of much activity there in the sixteenth century. It may be relevant that a new Marian shrine was built at Musselburgh in 1533 in honour of the Holy House at Loretto. James V made a pilgrimage there from Stirling in 1536. It may also be worth noting that Sir David Lindsay saw fit to mock the Loretto shrine, but does not mention Whitekirk.<sup>79</sup> Devotion to Our Lady in East Lothian thus acquired a new centre.

It is difficult to come to any strong conclusions concerning the shrine at Whitekirk. Newly-prominent Marian shrines focussed on statues were numerous in late medieval Europe, and Whitekirk fits into this pattern, along with other evidence of affective piety towards the Blessed Virgin.<sup>80</sup> A miracle in defence of the land also meant that Our Lady of Whitekirk offered very concrete hope while south-east Scotland continued to be a sporadic theatre of war. The evidence as we have it points to a flowering of devotion at Whitekirk by the mid fourteenth century, and apparently quite lively interest by the time of Piccolomini's visit in 1435; Bower's account was then written in the 1440s. James IV's visits were not outstandingly frequent, and there is little further indication of pilgrim traffic in the sixteenth century. It is possibly worth noting that the aging Bower was at the tail end of first-generation living tradition about the miracle of 1356. One wonders if fading

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<sup>77</sup> *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F.J.H. Skene, vol. i (Edinburgh, 1877) p.298

<sup>78</sup> TA i.337.

<sup>79</sup> Yeoman, *Pilgrimage*, p.51; McRoberts, 'Hermits in Medieval Scotland', pp.208-212; Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 'Off imageis vsit amang Cristin men,' *The Monarchie*, in *Works*, ed. Hamer, vol. i, pp.267-299.

<sup>80</sup> Ronald Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), p.199.

memories of both first-hand accounts of this miracle and the highly destructive English campaigns in Lothian reduced Whitekirk's appeal.

### v. St Catherine's Oily Well

Slightly south of Edinburgh was the chapel of St Catherine in Liberton, usually called St Catherine's of the Oily Well. This chapel enshrined a spring, on the waters of which floated an oily substance with healing properties. The origins of this shrine are mysterious. The first written record appears to be a supplication to the pope of 30<sup>th</sup> March 1420, in which it is asked that, 'since the chapel of St Catherine, commonly called the Balm Well (*capella beate Katerine de fonte olei vulgariter nuncupata*), founded of old and devoutly resorted to by Christ's faithful on the feast of St Catherine, for want of means cannot be completely constructed or fittingly ornamented', the pope grant four years' indulgence to all the faithful who give gifts in aid of the chapel's construction or visit it on St Catherine's day. This was granted by Martin V.<sup>81</sup> How successful this was in attracting donations is quite unknown, but by the end of the century the chapel certainly attracted at least one high-profile pilgrim: the Treasurer's Accounts for James IV's reign show that the king visited it a few times a year, although he is not recorded as visiting it on St Catherine's feast.

The first narrative account of the chapel does not appear until 1527, in Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*:

Ab hoc oppido plus minus duobus passuum milibus, fons cui olei gutte innatant scaturit: ea vi, vt si nihil inde collegeris nihilo plus confluat: quantumuis aut[em] abstuleris nihilo minus remaneat. Natum esse aiunt effuso illic oleo Diue Cathatine quod ad Diuam Margaritam ex monte Sinai adferebatur. Fidem rei faciunt, fonti nomen diuae Catharinae inditum, atque in eiusdem honorem sacellum, iuxta diuae Margaritae iussu edificatum. Valet hoc oleum contra varias cutis scabrities.<sup>82</sup>

About two miles' passage from this town [Edinburgh], a spring flows up on which drops of oil float: with this virtue, that if you gather none of it, no more flows out; but however much you take away, there remains no less. They say that it arose from spilt oil of Saint Catharine which was being carried to St Margaret from

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<sup>81</sup> CSSR i.186.

<sup>82</sup> Boece (Boethius), *Scotorum Historiae*, fo xi.



Mount Sinai. These add credence to the matter: that the name of St Catharine was given to the spring, and a chapel built in her honour, at St Margaret's command. This oil is effective against various skin conditions.

Or, as Bellenden has it, with his usual slight editing:

Nocht two mylis fra Edinburgh is ane fontane dedicat to sant katrine, quhair stermis of oulie springis. Ithandlie with sic aboundance, that howbeit the samyn be gaderit away, it springis incontinent with gret aboundance. This fountane rais throw ane drip of sant katrynis oulie, quhilk wes brocht out of mont Synay fra hir sepulture fo sanct Margaret the blissit quene of Scotland. Als sone as sanct Margaret saw they oulie spring Ithandlie be diuine miracle in the said place, scho gart big ane chapell thair in the honour of sanct katherine. This oulie hes ane singulare virtew aganis all maner of cankir and skawis.<sup>83</sup>

How long-standing this tradition was is unknowable. Despite the minimal Scottish evidence for devotions at this shrine, it was apparently very well known, and remained a popular site for travellers to see throughout the early modern period.<sup>84</sup> It is the only such shrine in Lothian which Boece remarks upon in his geographical overview of the kingdom.<sup>85</sup> The back story, however, was prone to slight alteration. A traveller of 1677, Thomas Kirk, reported that 'They say that St Catherine travelling this way with her cruise of oil, fell here and broke it, and ever since it has run oil.'<sup>86</sup> Canon Richard Augustine Hay (d.1736), in his posthumously-published *Genealogie* of his step-relatives, the Sinclairs of Roslin, attached the tale to Sir William Sinclair, contemporary of Robert I and chivalrous hero. According to family tradition, Sinclair's grants of land from Robert had been the outcome of a rash wager with the king: Sinclair had 'wagered his head' that his hounds could slay a hind which the king thought impossible to catch. Sinclair asked St Catherine's intercession, and won his bet; in gratitude he 'builded the church

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<sup>83</sup> Bellenden transposed Boece's chronicle into Scots. John Bellenden, *The Hystory and Croniklis of Scotland* (1977, facsimile edition of Edinburgh. ?1540).

<sup>84</sup> M. Rackwitz, 'Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in Early Modern Travellers' Accounts, c.1600-1800', 3 vols, PhD thesis, Christian-Albrechts University, Kiel, 2004 (viewed as pdf file at [http://e-diss.uni-kiel.de/diss\\_1362/](http://e-diss.uni-kiel.de/diss_1362/) [accessed April 2006]), vol. i p.58 n.126; pp.63, 94, 104.

<sup>85</sup> Boece, *Scotorum Historiae*, fos viii-x.

<sup>86</sup> P. Hume Brown, ed., *Tours in Scotland 1677 and 1681 by Thomas Kirk and Ralph Thoresby* (Edinburgh, 1892), p.42. My thanks to Dr Martin Rackwitz for this reference. Cf other early modern accounts mentioned in W.N. Boog Watson, 'The Balm-Well of St Catherine, Liberton', *BOEC* xxxiii pt 3 (1972), 137-142.

of Saint Kathrine in the Hopes, which now remains to this day' (its remains are now, in fact, submerged in Hopes Reservoir<sup>87</sup>). Sinclair then sent a priest to St Catherine's grave to fetch the 'precious oyle, that issueth from her bones, ... that he might carry it to his new-builded chapel'; but the priest on his way home rested a mile from Liberton Church, 'where falling asleep upon a rush bush near by, lost his oyle. The news wherof comeing to Sir William Aintclair, he made workemen to digge the place where the oyle was spilt, and presentlie up sprung a fountaine, which to this day hath like a black oyle suimming upon it.'<sup>88</sup>

The central feature of all these tales is the drop of oil from St Catherine's tomb at Mount Sinai. This incident shows a nice connection between locality and major universal cult. However, even allowing for the late and diffuse nature of the sources just cited, the wide variation between these stories suggests that there was no official line on the exact circumstances of the spring's origins (or at least not one which was generally accepted). While clearly incompatible one with the other, both Boece's and Hay's stories are particularly interesting in that they nonetheless have a similar effect: that is to say, in both, St Catherine's Oily Well is incorporated into a larger narrative. In the first case, the narrative is that of native Scottish sanctity, or more precisely that of the divinely-approved royal line, which historians regularly presented as being rooted in Margaret and her husband and sons; in the second case, it is that of a family history, this generation of which was marked by royal service, chivalry and piety. Furthermore, in both cases, the miracle could perhaps be seen more specifically as confirming the patron's tie to the land. Particularly in Bellenden's paraphrase of Boece, 'the blissit quene', in her rapid response to the miraculous spring, seems to be happily responsible for the marvel's continuing presence in Scotland; Margaret is serving as the guardian of the

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<sup>87</sup> RCAHMS *Mid and West Lothian*, p.72.

<sup>88</sup> Fr Richard Augustine Hay, prior of St Pieremont, *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn, including the Chartulary of Rosslyn* (Edinburgh, 1835), pp.13-15.



kingdom, procuring blessing for it in its very earth.<sup>89</sup> In the Sinclair story, Sinclair lordship in these newly-acquired lands is confirmed, albeit somewhat back-handedly, as Sinclair's ambition was an instrumental cause of the miraculous spring's appearance in the Hopes.

The Oily Well was thus a renowned shrine which was valued not simply for its healing properties but also as a link between Scottish local history and one of the great saints of the church.

## vi. St Anthony's Chapel

St Anthony's on the Crag, near Holyrood Abbey but in fact part of Duddingston parish and thus dependent on Kelso, has already been noted as a favoured chapel of James IV. The circumstances of its foundation are unknown. It is claimed as a pilgrimage site in one supplication to the pope for indulgences in 1426. The abbot of Kelso notes that it is so under-endowed that it is not even equipped with vestments, but states that 'a great multitude of people is wont to flow to the said chapel for the sake of devotion', especially on the feasts of the Exaltation of the Cross, Good Friday, and St Anthony's feast.<sup>90</sup> The reason for the apparent connection to Passion devotion is unclear. It might be connected to the chapel's proximity to Holyrood Abbey, and perhaps one might speculate concerning its position on a hill 'outside the city walls' as was Golgotha. In any case, it seems to have remained reasonably prominent. Another supplication for indulgences in 1435, referring to 'St Anthony's chapel in Kelso', may in fact refer to St Anthony on the Crag, as the chapel was a possession of Kelso.<sup>91</sup> More definitely, a 1443 supplication by St Anthony's preceptory in Leith, in defence of its privileges as part of the order of St-Antoine of Vienne,

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<sup>89</sup> Cf the miracle of John of Wemyss and the battle of Largs: Margaret declares in a vision, 'I have accepted this kingdom from God, and it is entrusted to me and my heirs for ever.' Bartlett, *Miracles of St Aebbe and St Margaret*, pp.86-9. This is the only miracle from the collection also recorded in the *Scotichronicon*, Lib. X c.15.

<sup>90</sup> CSSR ii.122, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1426.

<sup>91</sup> CSSR iv.229.

mentions St Anthony on the Crag as a rival foundation which the preceptor considers to be fraudulently bearing St Anthony's name and receiving alms properly pertaining to the Vienne hospitals.<sup>92</sup> The faithful were presumably still paying attention to the chapel, and James IV's interest may imply they continued to do so. The chapel's significance, however, remains obscure.

### vii. St Triduana of Restalrig

As already mentioned in Chapter Three, St Triduana the Virgin was associated with St Rule and was reputed to lie at Restalrig. How old this tradition was is quite unknowable, but the narrative of her life as given in the Aberdeen Breviary certainly involves several strands which did not always go together, as I argue in detail elsewhere.<sup>93</sup> The cult attached to her relics at Restalrig in any case gained national prominence only after James III and IV began to patronise Restalrig, though as we have seen there is no clear known reason for this royal enthusiasm. As said in Chapter Three, the first surviving references explicit to St Triduana at Restalrig are in 1492, when an altar of St Triduana in the south aisle of (slightly puzzlingly) the parish church is mentioned, and 1496, when James IV pays for a trental 'before Sanct Triduane'.<sup>94</sup> After royal interest began to be taken in the cult, and presumably at least partly as a result of this, devotion to Triduana took off throughout eastern Scotland at the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth. Triduana's relics became sought after. Sir James Braid, chaplain of the altar of St Fergus in St Andrew's parish church between 1479 and 1515, 'laboured at the hand of James IV' to obtain a bone of

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<sup>92</sup> CSSR iv.981.

<sup>93</sup> 'St Triduana of Restalrig? Locating a saint and her cult in late medieval Lothian and beyond', in *Images of Sanctity: In honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra Higgs Strickland, forthcoming (Leiden, 2007). Currently, see MacDonald, 'The Chapel Royal of Restalrig', and A.A. MacDonald, 'The Legend of St Triduana: Piety at the Interface of Pictish and Early Germanic Cultures', in H. Lemmen, ed., *Current Research in Dutch and Belgian Universities and Polytechnics on Old English, Middle English and Historical Linguistics, Papers read at the Twenty-third Research Symposium held in Utrecht on 14 December 2001* (Utrecht, 2002) (with which my paper disagrees in several respects).

<sup>94</sup> *Prot. Bk Young* no 534; TA i.296.



Triduana for his altar. He also had a picture of her painted in Flanders.<sup>95</sup> Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen 1518-1532, gave some of her relics in a heavy silver reliquary to his cathedral church.<sup>96</sup> Triduana was also the dedicatee of several altars or chaplainries: in Brechin cathedral by 1505, in Perth parish church by 1518, in St Giles', Edinburgh, in 1527, and in Dundee parish church at some unknown point before the Reformation.<sup>97</sup> Sir David Lindsay of the Mount shows that she had become a familiar saint in his poem *The Monarchie*, of c.1554, wherein he mocks popular reliance on saints with specialised fields of interest. He lists those who run to Saint Tredwell 'to mend thare eine', alongside those who invoke St Bride to cure the cows, St Sebastian to ward off arrows, and St Kentigern to cure the mad. At another point, in criticism of the veneration of images, Lindsay gives a list of saints and their attributes as they are seen in churches; this again includes 'Tredwell', 'quhilk on ane prik heth boyth hir eine', alongside well-known saints both universal and Scottish.<sup>98</sup> Over the two or three generations before the Reformation, then, Triduana became a mainstream saint with a recognisable speciality and iconography.

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<sup>95</sup> F.C. Eeles, 'The Altar of St Fergus in Holy Trinity, St Andrews: A Sixteenth-Century MS. Rental and Inventory', *SHR* ii (1905), p.266; see also *SHR* iii (1906), p.110, for correction to date, and W.E.K. Rankin, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, St Andrews: Pre-Reformation*, St Andrews University Publications 52 (Edinburgh, 1955), pp.79-80.

<sup>96</sup> Cosmo Innes, ed., *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, 2 vols, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1845), ii.185.

<sup>97</sup> *TA* iii.66, 8<sup>th</sup> October (Triduana's feast) 1505, in Brechin, 9s for the king's offering on St Triduana's 'board'. A.G. Reid, 'Notice of a box, supposed to be the 'offerand stok' of St Eloi's altar in St John's Church, Perth', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* xx (1886), 50-53, notes in the Perth Hammermen's Book reference in 1518 to 20d 'ressavit furth of Triduanis stok'. *St Giles Reg.* no 130. Alexander Maxwell, *Old Dundee, ecclesiastical, burghal, and social, prior to the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1891), p.36 (date unknown). The earliest dated reference to St Triduana's chaplainry in Dundee seems to be post-Reformation (1583): NAS, Scrymgeour of Wedderburn Writs, GD137/3921.

<sup>98</sup> Sir David Lindsay, 'Off Imageis Vsit amang Cristin Men', *The Monarchie*, ll.2279-2708, at ll.2291-2, 2366.

### viii. Our Lady of Edrom?

One supplication to Clement VII in 1393 mentions the reputation for miracles of another parish church in East Lothian: St Mary's, Edrom. An indulgence was requested for those aiding the church, 'which is noted for the miracles performed there, that in the past have attracted countless pilgrims'.<sup>99</sup> Edrom parish church was appropriated to Coldingham, and its vicarage was later (1459) appropriated to Dunglass college.<sup>100</sup> Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow founded a chaplainry in the Lady Aisle in 1500, and left money in his testament for its reparation.<sup>101</sup> This is the only known reference to this church as a pilgrimage site.

### ix. Chapel of St Mary and St *Nenicirius*?

Another mysterious solitary reference is in a supplication of 1446, asking indulgences for those who aid the fabric of a chapel of the blessed Virgin and St *Nenicirius* or *Nenicnus*, which has been begun in the cemetery of Lauder parish church, 'because the Most High daily reveals innumerable miracles through the said saint'. Puzzlingly the supplication is in the name of James II and 'James earl of Douglas', although James was a minor and the earl of Douglas in 1446 was called William. St Boisil (*Boselius*), abbot of Old Melrose and tutor of St Cuthbert, also seems to be associated with the site, as the indulgence is also to be available on his feast day.<sup>102</sup> I have not yet been able to identify *Nenicirius*<sup>103</sup>, and nothing further seems to be known of this chapel.

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<sup>99</sup> *Clement VII Letters* pp.196-7, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1393.

<sup>100</sup> Cowan, *Parishes*, p.60; CSSR iv.1111; HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Report, Appendix, Pt VIII (London, 1891), p.185 no 318.

<sup>101</sup> RMS ii.3029. John Durkan, 'Archbishop Robert Blackadder's Will', *IR* xxiii (1972), pp.143, 147.

<sup>102</sup> CSSR iv.1334, 28<sup>th</sup> December 1446.

<sup>103</sup> Dr Simon Taylor suggests a mistake for *Ninianus* (pers. comm.).



### III. Dedications of new foundations

There are more references to altars, chaplainries and chapels than there are certain dates of foundation. There are also problems of dating for the considerable number of chapels and altars which are known only from casual references apparently some time after their foundation. It is nonetheless clear that there are markedly increasing numbers of new foundations by both clerical and lay founders in the second half of the fifteenth century, particularly after 1470. These increased numbers are no doubt partially due to increasing survival of evidence. However, this also reflects the trends of foundation in St Giles', Edinburgh, where we can be more confident that the evidence is more fully representative of new foundations. (Indeed, the last generation of the fifteenth century seems to have been particularly fecund in other respects as well; Roderick Lyall has noted that Scottish manuscript books are found in far higher numbers after this point, and he suggests that this is not entirely an accident of survival.<sup>104</sup>)

The most obvious development in new dedications is a considerably greater variety in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (see Table 8 at end of chapter: bracketed references in the following discussion are to numbered entries). This is marked by the inclusion of Scottish saints, auxiliary saints or saints with specialised interests (whose patronage was recommended in Ireland's treatise on penance), and dedications to specific attributes or aspects of Our Lord and Our Lady (such as St Salvator and Our Lady of Pity). The discussion here excludes the numerous altars in St Giles', which seem better considered as a relatively independent sub-set.

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<sup>104</sup> R.J. Lyall, 'Books and book owners in fifteenth-century Scotland', in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall, eds, *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.240-241.

The most prominent saint is unsurprisingly the Blessed Virgin. As we have seen, a high number of parish churches were dedicated to her, and it is highly probable that all but the smallest churches had a Lady altar. Chaplainries at Lady altars are known in Musselburgh (17), Bothans (38), St Anthony's Leith (39), Dalkeith (47), St Nicholas' Leith (67), North Berwick (78), Edrom (106), Linlithgow (87), Airth (64), and Roslin (133) churches. Various new chapels were dedicated to her, including David II's new chapel in Edinburgh Castle (10), the new hospital founded by Edinburgh burgh council in 1438 (33), Leith's new church in the 1480s (64), and a new almshouse in Linlithgow in 1496 (86). She was linked to the dedications of the major royal projects: Trinity College's associated hospital seems to have been dedicated to the Virgin (45), Restalrig was the college of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin (66), and the Chapel Royal at Stirling was of St Mary and St Michael (111). Perhaps more significantly, altars of Our Lady of Pity were becoming more prominent at the end of the fifteenth century, being found in St Giles' in 1483,<sup>105</sup> North Berwick in 1497 (89) and Dunglass in 1500 (104). (The Office of the Compassion of the Blessed Virgin was printed in Edinburgh in 1520.<sup>106</sup>) Mysteries of the Blessed Virgin's life began to be picked up on in the early sixteenth century, in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of the Nativity founded by the Countess of Ross in Edinburgh in 1505 (121), and the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of the Visitation founded by Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar at the bridge end of Craigmillar by 1518 (131).<sup>107</sup>

There are a few other cases of more or less fashionable devotions becoming visible in the form of dedications from the later fifteenth century. The Virgin's mother St Anne was honoured with altars at Corstorphine

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<sup>105</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no 98.

<sup>106</sup> *Compassio Beate Marie: A unique Latin tract Printed in Edinburgh by John Story about 1520, now reproduced in facsimile, with an Introduction by George P. Johnston* (Edinburgh, 1930)

<sup>107</sup> Cf David McRoberts, 'The Rosary in Scotland', *IR* xxiii (1972), pp.81-3.



parish church by 1473 (54) and St Cuthbert under the Castle in 1486 (65).<sup>108</sup> As plague hit around the turn of the fifteenth century, St Roche was looked to: James IV dedicated a new chapel to him in Stirling (112), and there was a St Roche's altar in Leith's new church by 1500 (102). One of the Roman virgin martyrs and auxiliary saints, St Barbara, patron saint of gunners and protector against gunshot, had an altar in St Mary's in Leith founded in 1499 (101). The devotion to the Holy Saviour, most prominently recognised in Scotland in Bishop Kennedy's college in St Andrews, appears in altars of St Salvator in St Anthony's Leith (1478) (58) and Dunbar collegiate church (1501) (108).

The most prominent individual saint after the Blessed Virgin is St Ninian, with fourteen dedications of various sorts. The earliest datable occurrences are Adam Forrester's chaplainry at St Ninian's altar in St Giles', established by 1405,<sup>109</sup> and a grant in 1436 by a burgess of Stirling to St Ninian's altar in the nave of Cambuskenneth Abbey (32). There were chapels of St Ninian at Blackness (45), Bannockburn (71), Dunmore (34) and Haddington (69), first mentioned in the fifteenth century but quite possibly of earlier date. Trinity College's foundation honoured Ninian (45), as did Restalrig's (66). Stirling parish church (53), Musselburgh (76), North Berwick (88) and Cranshaws (129) parish churches had altars of St Ninian. One of Abbot Ballantyne's foundations was St Ninian's chapel in North Leith (82). All the evidence suggests that Ninian was the most truly popular national saint in Scotland. He was usually chosen by expatriot Scots as their patron, he seems to have been the only Scottish saint for whom a Little Office was composed and included in books of hours, and, as Mairi Cowan's doctoral thesis has demonstrated, there are far more dedications to Ninian than to the

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<sup>108</sup> German miners in Glasgow diocese also built a chapel in honour of St Anne, 1523x47, where Archbishop Gavin of Glasgow allowed them to receive the Sacraments: *St Andrews Formulare* i no 169.

<sup>109</sup> *St Giles Reg.* no 28.

more recent St Margaret or the 'official' national patron, St Andrew.<sup>110</sup> Ninian is not an enormously common name among late medieval Scotsmen, but a perusal of the Register of the Great Seal will come across it more often than that of other native saints.

As discussed above, the prominence of the shrines of local saints is difficult to gauge but does not seem to have been very great. There was the rather puzzling chapel of the Blessed Virgin and St 'Nenicirius', who, if not a mistake for Ninian again, may have been connected to St Boisil and Old Melrose (37).<sup>111</sup> Local boy St Kentigern was apparently not very widely honoured beyond the several parochial dedications; he had an altar in Currie parish church (83), and an altar endowed in Tranent parish church by Andrew Heriot of *Trabroun* at some point before Heriot's testament of 1531 (134). Other native saints are also rather thinly represented. St Duthac's altar in St Giles' attracted several endowments,<sup>112</sup> and a chaplain endowed a chaplainry at St Duthac's altar in Kelso Abbey in 1505 (119). Duthac was also mentioned in Restalrig collegiate church's foundation (66). More unusually, Elizabeth Cunningham of Belton founded an altar of St Monan in Dunbar collegiate church at some point before 1515 (130). The smallness of this group tends to bear out David Ditchburn's down-playing of any very wide 'nationalist' trend in the cult of saints within Scotland.<sup>113</sup>

Other dedications were to well-known saints prominent throughout Christendom. St John the Baptist was particularly popular, possibly partly in connection with Scottish pilgrimage to his head at Amiens.<sup>114</sup> Saints Nicholas, Michael and Catherine of Alexandria were also relatively common.

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<sup>110</sup> Mairi Cowan, 'Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation: Individuals, Communities and Nations', PhD thesis (University of Toronto, 2003), p.241.

<sup>111</sup> CSSR iv.1334: the feast of St Boisil, an abbot of Old Melrose, is one of those on which an indulgence was to be available for visitors to the chapel.

<sup>112</sup> *St Giles Reg.* nos 44, 45, 49.

<sup>113</sup> David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214-1560. Volume I: Religion, Culture and Commerce* (East Linton, 2000), pp.50-57.

<sup>114</sup> Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, p.63.



Chaplainries at Rood altars are mentioned in six cases, but there must have been far more Rood altars than is recorded.

#### IV. The Uses of Saints

Lists of dedications are of course of limited application. The significance of any particular choice of dedication – in terms of both the reasons for the choice, and its subsequent impact – is usually far from obvious. The full context of devotion to the saints in Scotland is moreover hidden from view by the large-scale loss of images and texts. The range of meaning which knowledge of and devotion to a saint could offer was potentially both broad and subtle, as Katherine Lewis's study of St Catherine of Alexandria's English cult amply demonstrates.<sup>115</sup> At the same time, Eamon Duffy makes a strong case that – at least for most people, most of the time – the saints were primarily approached as a powerful patron in heaven and on earth, not as specific exemplars.<sup>116</sup>

A very clear Scottish example of this is found in the earl of Fife's charter to Lindores Abbey (in Fife) after his release from English captivity – and narrow escape after a death sentence – after the Battle of Neville's Cross (1346).<sup>117</sup> This does not pertain to Lothian, but is a fascinating illustration of a response to the saints, and is worth dwelling on. It narrates Fife's recollection in prison of the miracles wrought by the intercessions of Saints Mary and Andrew, his placing of himself under their 'patronage', and his vow to make a grant to Lindores if these saints will obtain his release. The text of the charter's preamble was presumably composed by a Lindores writer, who concisely states that 'amidst the stormy perils of this life we are supported by the suffrages of the saints and guided by their leadership to the promised joys'. If the wording is probably clerical, however, the account of fleeing

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<sup>115</sup> Katherine Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2000), Ch. 2 esp. pp. 85-8, 96-110; and Ch. 3.

<sup>116</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.175-9.

<sup>117</sup> Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, p.147.

‘whole-heartedly to the saints’ aid’ when ‘entirely lacking human help’ is a clear description of what Fife did: he had recourse to the most potentially effective patrons available to him, in a choice apparently affected by local connections. He was able to recall these saints’ past efficacy, and his local connections which prompted him to turn to these particular saints and allowed him to promise a particular response to their patronage.<sup>118</sup> This also covers broad ground. Intercession may be asked just as well to aid interior prayer as to attain more visible objectives, and the relationship between saint and petitioner might be patterned after various forms. The earl of Fife seems to have behaved as the client of a lord, ready to offer due service while under protection. Other contrasting examples can be taken from Scottish evidence. The invocation of the Blessed Virgin throughout the Little Office of the Virgin in the form of *Aves* between the psalms<sup>119</sup> asks for aid and companionship in prayer (*And thus thin vrisoun may wele be herd...*); this is rather different from the approach to the saint made by a nun whose successful demand of the Virgin that she halt flooding in Haddington took the form of a threat to throw the Virgin’s statue into the rising water: Bower carefully describes her as ‘monialis simplicitate quadam fatua, sed mente quamvis non secundum scienciam devota’, ‘a nun with a degree of foolish simplicity, but with devout intention even if without understanding.’<sup>120</sup> (None of which is to say that the same individual could not use different such patterns in his life.)

Some instances in the Lothian evidence do suggest how or why certain people related to certain saints. The testaments of James Douglas of Dalkeith and Elizabeth Hamilton, Countess of Crawford, illustrate long term continuity in the personal possession of relics and religious images by members of the nobility, one in 1390 (slightly redrafted in 1392) and the other

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<sup>118</sup> RMS i App. I.141.

<sup>119</sup> As e.g. in the ‘East Lothian’ Hours: London, National Art Library, Reid MS 54 (Special Collections KRP.C.9), fos 8ff.

<sup>120</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Lib.XIV c.21.



in 1517.<sup>121</sup> Both owned Passion relics: Douglas mentions a ring apparently set with stone from the column of Christ's scourging, and a cross with a relic of the True Cross ('anulum de columpna Christi et unam crucem de cruce super qua pendebat Jesus'). Hamilton also owned a piece of the pillar, in a composite reliquary: 'ane pece of stane of the pillar on the ta syd and ane pece of Sanct mavins bane of the tother and ane pece of Sancts Ninians bane cloisit in gold.' Similarly she had a piece of the Cross: 'ane litle gold cross with ane pece of the haly cross and ane pece of [sanct] Ninianis bane.' Douglas also had a silver reliquary containing some of Mary Magdalen's hair ('unam reliquiam de capillis beate Marie Magdalene inclusam in argento'), and a ring with an image of St Christopher ('unum anulum cum sancto christofero'). Hamilton, besides the relics of Scottish saints already mentioned, owned a cross of St Anthony with a pearl – probably the Tau cross which signified membership of the confraternity of St Anthony of Vienne – a 'signet of our Lady', a cross of gold with eight pearls, and three crucifixes. Hamilton's bequests suggest particular devotion to St Ninian, and fondness for the Dominicans. The Blackfriars were favoured with two gowns of costly fabric, satin and damask, which seems to be the most valuable of her clothing bequests. John Adamson, provincial of the Friars Preacher, was among the witnesses to the testament.<sup>122</sup> Hamilton wished to be buried at St Ninian's altar in the Blackfriars' church (although whether in Edinburgh or elsewhere is not clear, owing to damage in the manuscript), and she left her cross with the relics of the Cross and of St Ninian to the Blackfriars.

Devotional objects including Rosaries are also visible among the possessions of burgesses of Canongate and Edinburgh, in documents noted

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<sup>121</sup> *Registrum de Morton* ii no 193; NAS, CC8/8/1A no. 4 (listed under 'Hammilton' in the online index). Compare widespread possession of relics of the Cross by members of the English nobility in the later fourteenth century: Jeremy Catto, 'Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century', in *History and Imagination: Essays in honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper*, eds., Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl and Blair Worden (London, 1981), 43-55 at p.48.

<sup>122</sup> Adamson (d.1522) was a learned and famously observant Dominican, Provincial in Scotland from 1516. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland*, pp.257-9.

in James Young's protocol book which illustrate disputes over the disposal of the goods of the several deceased. One John Ra, a merchant with international interests (formerly in indweller 'in Stra Streit in Brugis'), owned 'ane agnus dei' and 'a string of beddis'.<sup>123</sup> One Edinburgh woman left a large and rather grand-sounding set of rosary beads to her son: one hundred and twenty beads (*oracula*) made of coral, with silver 'gaudeis'. They were covetable enough for her widower's second wife to take them for herself, according to the man's deathbed confession in 1491. The second wife denied the theft, maintaining that the dying man was not of sound mind. This admittedly does not look as if the devotion to the Virgin had had much effect.<sup>124</sup>

The appearance of dedications reflecting more recent devotions does indicate reception of ideas from the Continent, as others have commented.<sup>125</sup> The invocation of parish patrons in some testaments has already been noted. Otherwise, the most visible connection between founders of altars and the dedications they choose is in their names. As Ireland advised, some founders invoke their namesakes, and some families show interest in saints whose name occurs or reoccurs in the family. Adam Forrester founded the chapel of St John the Baptist in Corstorphine; his heir was named John, and he erected the chapel into a collegiate church. 'John' continues to occur in the Forrester family later in the century. John de Peebles endowed St John the Evangelist's altar in St Giles's. One Peter Falconer founded a chaplainry at St Peter's altar in St Mary's church in Leith. The chapel and hermitage founded by prebendary Sir John Crawford was in honour of Ss John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. It may be relevant that the daughter of George Ker of Samuelston, patron of St Nicholas' chapel, Samuelston, was named Nichola.<sup>126</sup> Similarly, it is possibly no coincidence that Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith had a younger brother named Nicholas, given that Dalkeith chapel

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<sup>123</sup> *Prot. Bk Young* i no 144.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.* nos 384-5. Cf McRoberts, 'Rosary in Scotland', pp.81-2, on valuable rosaries.

<sup>125</sup> Eg Ditchburn pp.52-3.

<sup>126</sup> RMS ii.2381 (AD1497).



was dedicated to the saint of that name.<sup>127</sup> A chaplainry at St Edmund's altar – a most unusual dedication in Scotland – in Bothans collegiate church was endowed by Sir Edmund Hay of Tealing. This is not, however, particularly common practice. One use of names which does develop is that the giving of local saints' names appears to become slightly more common among Lothian families. One Kentigern Crichton, priest, was active in the 1470s,<sup>128</sup> although the Lords Crichton were not named after their parish's patron. A Kentigern Seton appears in 1497, son of Alexander Seton of *Perbrocht*.<sup>129</sup> (Sir) Baldred Blackadder appears in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>130</sup> These names are not many, but they do indicate that native saints were being invoked more actively as patrons than previously. ('Duthac' seems to be yet rarer as a name in south-east Scotland, although an Edinburgh property-holder named Duthac Wigmore was dead by 1425.<sup>131</sup>)

The most revealing window into the use of saints is found in a book of hours which was in the hands of the Hays of Yester at the beginning of the sixteenth century, belonging to Elizabeth Belton of Cunningham, wife of John Lord Hay of Yester. As discussed in Chapter One, the Hays were co-patrons of Bothans collegiate church, founded in 1421, and as their seat at Yester Castle was in this parish they retained the closest interest in the college. This parish was dedicated to St Cuthbert, and the foundation charter of the college announced the intention to endow four altarages, one in the patronage of each co-founder (Sir William Hay, Thomas Boyd, Eustace Maxwell and Dougal MacDowell).

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<sup>127</sup> See witnesses to *Morton Reg.* ii no 151. Nicholas is rather far down the list and was not knighted, whereas Sirs William and Henry Douglas head the list, suggesting Nicholas was a rather younger brother (or even illegitimate?).

<sup>128</sup> E.g. *CPL* xiii.360.

<sup>129</sup> *RMS* ii.2459

<sup>130</sup> He was present among an assise at Berwick sheriff court in 1480, hearing property disputes concerning Melrose and Dunfermline abbeys. The first-named members of the assise were the lords of Bass, Langton and Blackadder. He seems to have flourished in royal service and was granted ward of lands in Fife and Dumfries by James III in 1483. *RMS* ii.1440 (note), *Yester Writs* no 210, *TA* i.354. Is he Baldred the brother of Archbishop Blackadder, mentioned in the latter's will of 1510? Durkan, 'Archbishop Robert Blackadder's Will', p.147.

<sup>131</sup> *Midl. Chrs* p.lxv.

The Yester Hours are now MS 1576 in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, with their separated flyleaves mistakenly bound into MS 1584.<sup>132</sup> This is one of the relatively few books of hours with a traceable Scottish owner about whom something useful is known, and one of only two books of hours which were definitely owned by members of Lothian families.<sup>133</sup> The Yester Hours are of the conventional sort produced by ateliers in France and the Low Countries for the export market to Scotland, with a small selection of Scottish saints in the calendar, sets of fairly standard prayers besides the Hours of the Virgin, and respectable illustrations.<sup>134</sup> It is not nearly so fine a book as the earlier Murthly Hours, and its contents encompass a smaller cultural range. Like the Murthly Hours, however, the additions made to the book make it a uniquely valuable object: it serves as a nexus of preoccupations, suggesting how devotional ideas and actions were incorporated into the pattern of one life.<sup>135</sup>

The Yester Hours contain a calendar, some Gospel pericopes, prayers to the Virgin including the *Obsecro te*, the *O intemerata* and meditations on the Joys of the Virgin, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, a further variety of prayers to the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms and Litany of the Saints, the Office of the Dead, the Fifteen Oes, and various prayers focussed on the Passion. Numerous additions have been made in a variety of hands. A flyleaf has a collection of obits, for Sir George Cunningham of Belton (1482), Thomas Hay, son and heir apparent of John Hay (1491), Mr Andrew Hay, provost of Bothans (14[98]), and William Hay, son of the lord of Yester

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<sup>132</sup> Description in M.R. James, *Bibliotheca Pepysiana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys: Part III: Mediaeval Manuscripts* (London, 1923), pp.14-19, 19-20 (flyleaves).

<sup>133</sup> The other is the 'Edmondstone Hours', NLS MS 16499 (see N. Ker, *Medieval Mss in British Libraries ii: Abbotsford to Keele* (Oxford, 1977), pp.581-3), which records the death of John Edmondstone of Edmondstone in 1564 (fo 11v). As all the popes have been scratched out, however, it presumably came into Scottish hands from England after the break with Rome.

<sup>134</sup> See Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A late fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript from Rouen* (London, 1984), for a study of this type of production.

<sup>135</sup> John Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West*, British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (London/Toronto, 2000). Digital facsimile of the manuscript available at [www.nls.uk/digitallibrary/murthly/index.htm](http://www.nls.uk/digitallibrary/murthly/index.htm).



(149[?]).<sup>136</sup> In the calendar itself, the death of John Lord Hay of Yester in 1508 is noted on 5<sup>th</sup> October. These obits suggest that the most probable owner of the book was Elizabeth Cunningham, daughter and heir of George Cunningham of Belton and wife of John Lord Hay: the deaths recorded are of her father, husband and sons (though Mr Andrew was possibly her brother-in-law). Marriage had been contracted between Elizabeth and John by January 1473. Cunningham had no male heirs, but in 1478 was planning that his named might be perpetuated by stipulating that a son of Elizabeth and John could only inherit Belton if he changed his name and arms to those of Cunningham. This was brought closer in May 1482, when it was agreed that John and Elizabeth's second son John would become Cunningham's heir and change his name upon inheriting. This arrangement was probably in preparation for Cunningham's death; he founded a chaplainry at the Lady altar in Crail church in June 1482 – installing his brother as the first chaplain – and died on 28<sup>th</sup> July of that year.<sup>137</sup> Elizabeth was duly returned as heir, before conveying the lands to her son.<sup>138</sup> She was therefore a woman of means, and from 1488 wife to a Lord of Parliament. The date of her own death is uncertain. In 1515 she founded a chaplainry at St Monan's altar in Dunbar collegiate church, forty-two years after her marriage and in the eighth year of her widowhood, and this may well have been done in expectation of death; she seems to have been dead by 1523, in any case.<sup>139</sup>

Elizabeth Cunningham's ownership of the book is confirmed by other additions. The names of St Elizabeth, St Monan and probably St George (it is rather unclear) are added in the margins next to the *Memoriae* of St Andrew and St George in Lauds of the Virgin.<sup>140</sup> Her own patron saint, that of her father and that of her altar in Dunbar were thus placed between Scotland's national patron and her father's again. A collect of St Monan is also added in

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<sup>136</sup> Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 1584, fo ii r.

<sup>137</sup> *Yester Writs* nos 171, 191, 201, 204-6.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* nos 209-10, 212, 220-225.

<sup>139</sup> NAS, GD28/373, 404.

<sup>140</sup> Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 1576, fo 46v.

a margin at the end of the Litany of Saints<sup>141</sup>. In the Office of the Dead, just before the commendation of souls, St Cuthbert's name (the patron of Bothans) has been added in the upper margin – as, more puzzlingly, has St Lucy's; there is also a collect of St Kentigern in the lower margin of the same page.<sup>142</sup> Active commemoration of saints with whom Elizabeth had a personal association was thus incorporated into the prayers of the primer, even if only by a bald name without further text. The significance of a mere name is highlighted by another addition, at the end of the volume: a versicle and collect of St Edmund of Abingdon.<sup>143</sup> As noted above, there was an altar of St Edmund in Bothans collegiate church, endowed by Edmund Hay at some point before 1456. This, however, is stated to be the altar of 'St Edmund king and martyr', not Edmund of Abingdon, the archbishop.<sup>144</sup> There had been some attempt by Scottish bishops to encourage Edmund of Abingdon's cult in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,<sup>145</sup> (and as patron of the English nation at Paris University a reasonable number of Scottish clergy might be expected to be familiar with his cult, or at least his feast). The appearance of Edmund the king at Bothans seems rather odd. Whatever the reason for the use of the name in the family, and the choice of the saint, the Bothans connection to a St Edmund apparently led to an interest in textually acknowledging another St Edmund.

Certain contexts of devotion can therefore be seen in this book of hours; or, perhaps better, the devotions of the book of hours could be shaped by, and applied in, contexts suggested by these manuscript additions. The most prominent is family – paternal and marital – in the collection of death notices: if Elizabeth Cunningham said the Office of the Dead, these were surely the souls to whom it was particularly applied. Family and locality both seem to contribute to the commemoration of particular saints: saints

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.* fo 92r.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* fo 115v.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* fo 170r.

<sup>144</sup> NAS, GD28/128, 2360.

<sup>145</sup> NAS, David McRoberts, 'The Cult of St Edmund in Scotland', *IR* xiii (1962)



whose names, by baptism, chance or choice, figured in Elizabeth's experience. It is possible that the choice of St Monan, a Fife saint, was guided by locality: Elizabeth's lands were in both Fife and Lothian, and St Monan's in Fife and Dunbar church, where Elizabeth endowed St Monan's altar, were close to either end of the Earlsferry crossing of the Forth.<sup>146</sup> Monan also has an almost adversarial connection to St Cuthbert, Bothans' patron: David II was freed by St Monan from an arrowhead lodged in his skull, acquired at the Battle of Neville's Cross which David was reckoned to have lost owing to his reckless trespass into St Cuthbert's land. Whether squaring this problem of loyalties was a concern in the early sixteenth century must remain unknown. More broadly, the Yester Hours, like other Scottish books of hours, points to a more general interest in Scottish saints; a collect of St Duthac is added during the Penitential Psalms<sup>147</sup>, and eight collects of Scottish saints added near the end of the volume.<sup>148</sup> However, this set of collects is in a very cursive secretary hand which may well date to after Elizabeth's lifetime.

The devotions added to the Yester Hours, however, in fact mirror the general pattern observed so far in this chapter: while there are personal and local elements, what is really far more prominent are prayers to Christ and the Virgin, some with notes declaring indulgences attached to them, and some prayers to saints guaranteed to achieve a particular end. Effective intercession seems to be the main concern. Such additions include a charm-like prayer against fever on a fly-leaf, which begins with a narrative apparently adapting the *Quo vadis?* story:

Ecce Ih[esus] veniens petre [q]uid hic iaces  
 ...[?] laceo de febribus concrepitus //+// [...?]  
 et acce[p]ta sanitate secutus est ih[esu]m //+

Lo, Jesus coming to Peter [said], 'why dost thou lie there?'  
 'I lie struck down with fever.' [...]  
 And, with his health restored, he followed Jesus.

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<sup>146</sup> My thanks to Dr Steve Boardman for pointing this out.

<sup>147</sup> Pepys Library, MS 1576, fo 76v.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* fos 157v-160r.

This is followed by a prayer that whoever says these words would arise whole; the words to be said are almost illegible, but the 'death and passion of Christ' are invoked as 'medicine', and several further signs of the cross seem to be indicated. The fly-leaves also have the verses for the Hours of the Holy Spirit, prayers to St Anne and a prayer against enemies.<sup>149</sup> Another charm-like prayer is added near the beginning of the Hours of the Cross, a version of the *Crux Christi* prayer often (but not in this case) accompanied by extravagant claims of indulgences. The example here begins, *In nomine domini ihu xr facio hoc signum tau crux rex venit in pace + xpc mecum sit in adiutorium + crux rex nostri sit in omne tribulacione crux xpi sit ante me + crux xpi intra me + crux xpi + ...*<sup>150</sup>

A common prayer for mercy, invoking Jesus' mercy as shown to Peter, Mary Magdalen and the Good Thief, is added before the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin<sup>151</sup>; a litany-like prayer invoking Mary as queen and protector of various classes of saints, with a prayer to be used in a graveyard, are added in Lauds of the Virgin<sup>152</sup>; a prayer to the Auxiliary Saints and one to St Anne are added after the Hours of the Cross.<sup>153</sup> An indulgence is claimed for the latter of these, and two prayers to the Virgin with indulgences follow, the second attributed to Julius II (1503-13). The names of St Roman and St Mary of Egypt are added on fo 129v, a prayer of St Martin on 130v, and a verse and prayer for St Appolonia on 149v, with reference to her special grace of efficacy against toothache, and possibly hinting at an amulet-like use of the written name: while her teeth were pulled out, 'in illo tormento orauit ad dominum ihm xpm ut quicumque nomen suum super se portaret malum in dentibus suis non sentirer' ('she prayed in that torment to the Lord Jesus Christ that whoever should bear her name upon himself would not feel pain in his teeth'). Finally, several English verses on the

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<sup>149</sup> Pepys Library, MS 1584, fos ii, iii. The texts are very damaged in places.

<sup>150</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p.273.

<sup>151</sup> Pepys Library, MS 1576, fo 28v; cf. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp.239-41.

<sup>152</sup> Pepys Library, MS 1576, fo 46v.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.* fos 73v, 74v.



Passion – a somewhat Scotticised extract from Lydgate – were copied in at the end of the volume.

There is a good mixture of devotions here, but most prominently they are prayers which could be used with particular confidence: indulgenced prayers, charm-like prayers, prayers to powerful patrons. This book may have been bound into Elizabeth Cunningham's personal contexts by the invocation of certain saints, but more ink was expended on widely popular texts which could offer the most definite aid in life and death.

Upon the evidence available, no very specific characterisation of the cult of saints in Lothian can be offered. This is partly a result of Lothian's historical situation. By the late middle ages, Lothian's history had established a variety of saints' cults in the archdeaconry. Lothian was not the site of any of Scotland's most prominent pilgrimage sites or major ecclesiastical centres, such as St Andrews, Whithorn, Dunfermline and, in the fifteenth century at least, Tain. It was on the route from the south to Fife, for St Andrews and Dunfermline. Given Lothian's Northumbrian early settlement patterns, language and ecclesiastical history, its natural ecclesiastical orientation might be thought to be through Coldingham towards Durham and the church of St Cuthbert. However, it had been indisputably within the sphere of the bishop of St Andrews since at least the later eleventh century, and by the late middle ages internal Scottish connections were clearly established: Baldred's association with St Kentigern and apparent detachment from Durham is significant in this respect. The pilgrimage sites within Lothian reflect a mixture of influences, none of which stands out as predominant. The dedications chosen by founders do show awareness of and interest in newer devotional preoccupations, becoming increasingly varied. While a few local and national saints became more prominent, the powerful intercession of the Blessed Virgin retained the greatest appeal. The modes in which the patronage of the saints was sought and conceptualised unfortunately remain largely unvoiced by the evidence. Elizabeth Cunningham's book of hours

stands alone as a memorial of the personal concerns which shaped one soul's approach to prayers used with confidence throughout northern Europe.



**Table 8: Dedications made in late medieval Lothian to c.1530 (excluding St Giles', Edinburgh)**

Grey highlighting indicates a clerical founder.

Bold indicates a new building or institution, rather than a foundation within an existing church.

All manuscript references are to the National Archives of Scotland unless stated otherwise.

	Foundation	Founder	Date	Reference
1	Light on St Mary Magdalen's altar, Saltoun (St Michael's) parish church	John and Agnes de Saltoun	?	<i>Dryb. Lib.</i> no 188
2	Rood altar, Saltoun par ch	John Burgulum of Saltoun	?	<i>Dryb. Lib.</i> no 190
3	Lights at image of BVM at Lady altar, Dryburgh Abbey	Sir William Abernethy	1273	<i>Dryb. Lib.</i> no 175
4	St Mary de Campis	(in Holyrood patronage)	Known 1298	<i>MRHS</i> p.220.
5	St Mary's chapel of Huntly(wood), Gordon parish	Gordons?	Shortly before or in 1308	<i>Kelso Lib</i> no 125; <i>HMC</i> 12 <sup>th</sup> Rept App. pt VIII, p.137 no 165; <i>ibid.</i> p.148-9 no 212
6	Chapel of St Thomas the Martyr, by Crawford Castle [which Crawford?]	Lindsays	Shortly before 1327?	<i>Newbattle Cart.</i> no 151
7	Chaplainry in chapel of St Laurence the Martyr of the Byres	David Lindsay of Crawford	1327	<i>Newbattle Cart.</i> no 151
8	Grant to St Bride's altar, Newbattle Abbey	Sir James Douglas	1329	<i>Newbattle Cart.</i> no 134
9	St Augustine's chapel, Holyrood Abbey		By 1338	<i>Scotichronicon</i> Bk XIII c 41.
10	St Mary's chapel, Edinburgh castle	David II	1366	<i>ER</i> ii.246
11	Chaplainry in St Nicholas' chapel, Dalkeith	Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith	1369	<i>RRS</i> vi.435
12	Rood altar, Stirling parish church (Holy Rood)	Grant by Anna de Keloche	Endowment 1372/3	<i>RMS</i> i.380, 430
13	Chaplainry in St John the Baptist's chapel, Dalkeith Castle	Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith	1384	<i>Morton Reg.</i> ii no 176
14	Hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Musselburgh		Mentioned 1386	<i>Clement VII Letters</i> p.118
15	St John the Baptist's chapel/collegiate church, Corstorphine	Adam Forrester	(late fourteenth century)	<i>RMS</i> i.604, <i>RMS</i> ii.35
16	St Stephen's aisle, Holyrood Abbey		Shortly before 1387	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 18
17	Chapel and chaplainry of St Mary, Musselburgh (St Michael's) parish church	Sir Simon Preston of Gourton	Shortly before or in 1388	GD122/1/144
18	Services at St John the Baptist's altar, Franciscan church, Haddington	William Haliburton of Carlowry	1389	<i>Fraser, Haddington Memorials</i> , ii.226



19	Chaplainry in St Mary's chapel, Edinburgh Castle	Robert II / Robert III	1390 / 1391	<i>RMS</i> i.805
20	St Nicholas chapel, Duncanlaw		Mentioned temp. Robert III	<i>RMS</i> i App. ii.1859
21	St Laurence's chaplainry, Stirling parish church		mentioned	<i>Benedict XIII Letters</i> pp.160-161
22	St Nicholas' aisle/altar, Holyrood Abbey	Sir David Fleming	1399	<i>Holyrood Lib.</i> no 108
23	<b>Carmelite church of BVM, Linlithgow</b>	<b>Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith</b>	<b>1401</b>	<b><i>Morton Reg.</i> ii nos 210-211</b>
24	St James's hospital, bridge end, Stirling		Granted to Scone 1403	<i>Cambuskenneth Reg.</i> no 108 [see <i>MRHS</i> p.193]
25	Chaplainry at St Peter's altar, St Nicholas's collegiate church Dalkeith	Henry Douglas of Logton	By 1406	<i>Midl Chrs</i> p.314
26	Anniversary in St Mary's chapel, Drem	Lindsay of Byres	c.1412	Fraser, <i>Hadd. Mems.</i> , ii.227-8
27	<b>St Anthony's preceptory, hospital, Leith</b>	<b>Robert Logan of Restalrig, (James I?)</b>	<b>Shortly before 1416</b>	<b><i>Ben XIII Letters</i> p.346</b>
28	St Catherine's Oily Well, Liberton		Mentioned 1420	<i>CSSR</i> i.186
29	Chaplainry at parochial (Lady) altar, Holyrood Abbey	Canon John Inverkeithing	1423	<i>Holyrood Lib. App.</i> II no 21
30	Unfruitful plan for college of St John the Baptist, Linlithgow	James I	1431	<i>CSSR</i> iii.176
31	St Mary's chapel, <i>Estriesvice</i> (East Nisbet?), Coldingham <sup>1</sup>	Robert Young, dean of Dunbar	1433	<i>CSSR</i> iv.23
32	Grant to St Ninian's altar, parochial nave, Cambuskenneth Abbey	John Barbour, burgess of Stirling	1436	<i>Cambuskenneth Reg.</i> no 209
33	<b>St Mary's hospital, Edinburgh</b>	<b>Edinburgh burgh council</b>	<b>[30<sup>th</sup> May] 1438</b>	<b><i>CSSR</i> iv.468 (but cf. <i>MRHS</i> p.177)</b>
34	St Ninian's chapel, Dunmore (nr Falkirk)	?	Indulgence asked 1442 (antiquity claimed)	<i>CSSR</i> iv.854
35	St Mary's chapel/coll ch, Dunglass	Erected into coll ch by Alexander Hume of Dunglass	Coll ch fdd 1443?	[See Chapter One]
36	Altars of St Andrew, Ss John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, St Laurence, St Nicholas, St		Endowments reorganised, 1446	<i>Cambuskenneth Reg</i> no 214

<sup>1</sup> *Estriesvice* may be an error for *Est nesbite*, East Nisbet near Coldingham, where a chapel of the Blessed Virgin is attested in Archbishop Blackadder's 1510 will. Durkan, 'Archbishop Robert Blackadder's Will', pp.144, 147. Dr John Davies has also suggested that the name may be *East Reswick*, referring to East Reston near Coldingham.



	Catherine of Alexandria, All Saints, in parochial aisle, Cambuskenneth Abbey			
37	<b>Chapel of BVM and St Nenircius, cemetery of Lauder par ch</b>	<b>?Douglas connection?</b>	<b>1446</b>	<b>CSSR iv.1334</b>
38	Lady Altar, Bothans (St Cuthber's) parish/coll ch	Augmented by Alice Hay	Augmented 1447	GD28/85
39	Lady altar, St Anthony's preceptory, Leith	Sir William Crichton	1448	<i>St Giles Lib</i> no 61
40	St Mary's chapel, Markle	Hepburn of Hailes?	First known mention 1448	EUL, Laing Chrs 1992 Box 51 (Calendar no 126)
41	St Kentigern's parish church, Crichton, erected into collegiate church	Sir William Crichton	1449	<i>Midl Chrs</i> pp.305ff
42	St Matthew's collegiate church, Roslin	Earl William Sinclair	c.1450 (but existed as chapel earlier)	[See Chapter Two]
43	St Edmund's altar, Bothans coll ch	Fdd by Hay of Yester? Endowed by William Ramsay Augmented by Dougal McDowell And Sir William Hay of Thallow [Tealing]	Pre-1456 (augmented 1464, 1465)	GD28/2360 GD28/128
44	<i>Ecclesia S. Johannis Baptistae sub muro castri de Edinburgh ad le Borrowmure</i>	?	By 1438	<i>MRHS</i> p.175
45	<b>Trinity College, Edinburgh: Trinity, BVM, St Ninian And hospital of BVM.</b>	<b>Mary of Gueldres</b>	<b>1460-61</b>	<b><i>Midl. Chrs</i> (GD158/73)</b>
46	St Ninian's chapel, Blackness	?	Mentioned 1465	<i>RMS</i> ii.857
47	Lady (parochial) altar, Dalkeith collegiate church	(probably from beginning)	By 1467	<i>Vet. Mon.</i> no <i>Midl Chrs</i> p.cxcvi
48	Chaplainry at St Mary Magdalen's altar, St Anthony's preceptory, Leith	Bishop William Mudy of Caithness	1469	NLS, Adv. MS. 20.3.4 (General Hutton's collections), fos 172r-175r.
49	St Nicholas' altar, Bothans coll ch	?	Mentioned 1470	CSSR iv.1432
50	St Ninian's altar, Bothans collegiate church	?	Mentioned 1470	<i>Yester Writs</i> no 152
51	Chaplainry at St Michael's altar, Stirling parish	Mr Thomas Carmichael, vicar	1471 (James IV)	<i>RMS</i> ii.2325 ( <i>RMS</i> ii.2916)



	church	of Stirling	granted patronage to the burgh in 1506)	
52	St Salvator's altar, Stirling parish church	?	Mentioned 1471	RMS ii.2325 RMS, C2/13 pt i no 249
53	Altars of St Ninian and St Thomas the Apostle, Stirling parish church	?	Mentioned 1472	RMS ii.1072
54	Chaplainry at St Anne's altar, Corstorphine parish church	William de Camera / Chalmers	1473	RMS ii.1320
55	Chaplainry at Trinity altar, Corstorphine collegiate church	Sir John Marshall, chaplain	1475	RMS ii.3504
56	Chaplainry and altar of St John the Baptist, Haddington par ch	?	Mentioned 1476	RMS ii.1215
57	Chaplainry at St Blaise's altar, Haddington par ch	Alexander Barcar, vicar of <i>Petynane</i>	1477	RMS ii.1333
58	Chaplainry at St Salvator's altar, St Anthony's, Leith	Thomas Turing, burgess of Edinburgh	1478	RMS ii.1813
59	Chaplainry at St John the Baptist's altar, Linlithgow par ch	Sir Patrick Young, precentor of Dunkeld	1478 (with mention of lamp wch has been wont to burn there)	RMS ii.2051
60	Chaplainry at St Columba's (parish) altar, Nether Cramond (St Columba's) par ch	Alexander Currou, vicar of Dunsyre	1479	RMS ii.1429
61	Hospital of BVM and St John the Baptist, Dunglass	?Hume of Dunglass?	Mentioned 1480	CPL xiii.271
62	St John's aisle, Dalkeith collegiate church	?	By 1481	RH9/8/1
63	Altar of the Holy Cross of Lucca, Dominican church, Haddington	?Possibly Newton of Newton?	Mentioned 1482	<i>Yester Writs</i> no 202
64	St Mary's aisle and altar, Airth parish church	Alexander Bruce of Stanehouse; chaplainry endowed by his grandson Robert	Two generations before 1485, when the founder's grandson founds chaplainry	RMS ii.1628
65	Chaplainry at St Anne's altar, St Cuthbert under the Castle	William Touris of Inverleith and Agnes Hume his wife	1486	RMS ii.1692
66	Collegiate church of the Holy Trinity and BVM, Restalrig	James III (finally endowed	1487 (1515)	<i>Midl. Chrs</i> p.274 <i>Midl Chrs</i> p.287



	(fully endowed in honour of Trinity, Mary, Andrew, Ninian, Duthac, Jerome, Triduana and all saints)	in James V's minority)		
67	Lady altar in St Nicholas' chapel, Leith, mentioned	?	Mentioned 1488	<i>Prot Bk Young</i> i no 123
68	Chaplainry at Trinity altar, St Cuthbert under the Castle	Mr Alexander Currou, vicar of Livingstone	1488	<i>RMS</i> ii.1810
69	Chaplainry in St Ninian's chapel, Haddington	George Ker of Samuelston	1489	<i>RMS</i> ii.1836
70	Rood altar, Bothans, coll ch	Chaplainry augmented by Sir Nicholas Hay, prebendary; John Lord Hay	Augmented 1489; 1523	GD28/229; GD28/404
71	St Ninian's chapel, (Bannockburn), nr Stirling	(In patronage of Sandilands of Calder)	Mentioned 1489	<i>RMS</i> ii.1879
72	<b>St Mary's church, Leith</b>		<b>By 1490</b>	<b><i>RMS</i> ii.1972</b>
73	Chaplainry at St Peter's altar, St Mary's church, Leith	Peter Falconer, vicinus of Leith	1490	<i>RMS</i> ii.1972
74	Chaplainry at St Sebastian's altar, Holyrood Abbey	Dene John Crumyeane	1490	<i>Prot Bk Young</i> no 371
75	St Catherine's altar, Haddington par ch	?	Mentioned 1490	<i>RMS</i> ii.2005
76	Altar and chaplainry of St Ninian, Musselburgh par ch	Prestons?	Mentioned 1491	<i>Prot Bk Young</i> i no 485
77	St James's chapel, Musselburgh (in par ch?)	?	Mentioned 1491	<i>Prot Bk Young</i> i no 483
78	Chaplainry at Lady altar, North Berwick (St Andrew's) parish church	Agnes Faulaw, wife of Lauder of Bass	1491	<i>RMS</i> ii.2068
79	Aisle and altar of BVM? Dominican church, Edinburgh	Walter Bertram, burgess	1492	<i>RMS</i> ii.2105 <i>RMS</i> , C2/13 pt i no 189
80	St Catherine's chapel, Dominican church, Edinburgh	?	Mentioned 1492.	<i>RMS</i> , C2/13 pt i no 189
81	St Leonard's chapel and almshouse, Broughton, refounded	Abbot Robert Ballantyne of Holyrood	1493	<i>Holyrood Lib App</i> II no 23 (see also <i>MRHS</i> p.176)
82	<b>St Ninian's chapel, bridge end, North Leith</b>	<b>Abbot Robert Ballantyne of Holyrood</b>	<b>1493</b>	<b><i>Holyrood Lib App</i> II no 24</b>
83	Chaplainry at St Kentigern's altar, Currie par ch	Mr Archibald Quhitlaw, royal sec'y & adcn of St Andrews	1493	<i>RMS</i> ii.2154 [mentioned 1502 in <i>Prot Bk Foular</i> i no 151]
84	St Clement's altar, OFM	Walter Bertram,	1495	<i>RMS</i> ii.2237



	church, Haddington	provost of Edinburgh		
85	Trinity altar and chaplainry and/or St Nicholas' altar [the MS is more ambiguous than the calendar suggests], Linlithgow par ch	Sirs Henry and James Erkel, brothers, chaplains	1496	<i>RMS ii.2318</i> <i>RMS, C2/13 pt i no 237</i>
86	<b>Chapel and almshouse of Our Lady, Linlithgow</b>	<b>Henry de Livingstone of Middlebinning</b>	<b>1496</b>	<b><i>RMS ii.2333, 2694</i></b> <b><i>RMS, C2/13 pt i no 264 (see MRHS p.185)</i></b>
87	Altars of the Cross, BVM, John the Baptist, St Catherine, Corpus Christi, St Anthony, in Linlithgow parish church	?	Mentioned 1496	<i>RMS ii.2333</i> <i>RMS, C2/13 pt i no 264</i>
88	Aisle and altar of St Ninian, North Berwick par ch	?	By 1497	<i>Douglas Book iii no 150</i>
89	Altar of Our Lady of Pity, North Berwick par ch	William of Carrick, indwellar in mains of Tantallon	1497	<i>Douglas Book iii no 150</i>
90	Chaplainry at St Kentigern's / High Alter, Alloa (St Kentigern's) parish church	Alexander Lord Erskine	1497	<i>RMS ii.2377</i> <i>RMS, C2/13 pt i no 286</i>
100	<b>St Mary's chapel, Polmont (nr Falkirk)</b>	<b>Abbot Robert Ballantyne of Holyrood</b>	<b>1498</b>	<b><i>RMS ii.2441</i></b>
101	Altar and chaplainry of St Barbara, St Mary's church, Leith	Gilbert Edmonstone, inhabitant of Leith	1499	<i>RMS ii.2496</i>
102	St Roche's altar, St Mary's church, Leith	In Logan patronage	Mentioned 1500	<i>Prot Bk Young no i no 1075</i>
103	St Leonard's chapel/hospital nr Lasswade, in Dalhousie barony	In patronage of Ramsay of Dalhousie by 1548	Mentioned 1500	<i>RSS i.551</i> <i>(GD 45/13/150)</i> <i>MRHS p.173</i>
104	Altar of Our Lady of Pity, Dunglass coll ch	?	Mentioned 1500	<i>RSS i.592</i>
105	Double chaplainry in St Ninian's par ch nr Stirling (Kirkton/Eagles St Ninian)	James IV	1500	<i>RMS ii.2536</i>
106	<b>Chaplainry in Lady aisle, Edrom (St Mary's) parish church</b>	<b>Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow</b>	<b>1500</b>	<b><i>RMS ii.3029</i></b>
107	Grants to altar of St Catherine of Alexandria, Holyrood Abbey		1501	<i>Prot. Bk Young i no 1121</i>
108	Chaplainry at St Salvator's altar, Dunbar coll ch	George Inglis of Lochen (whose father Robert built	1501	<i>RMS ii.2618</i>



		the aisle of St Salvator)		
109	Chaplainry at St Laurence's altar, Stirling par ch	(James IV grants patronage to Stirling burgh)	Mentioned 1505	<i>RMS ii.2627</i>
110	Chaplainry at All Saints' altar, Linlithgow par ch	Mr David Mane, rector of Monyabrock	1502	<i>RMS ii.2646</i>
111	Chapel Royal of St Mary and St Michael, Stirling	James IV	1501	<i>History of the Chapel Royal in Scotland no 1</i>
112	St Roche's chapel, bridge end, Stirling	James IV	Endowed 1502 (fdn planned 1500)	<i>RMS ii.2678 (RSS i.476)</i>
113	Mention of St John the Baptist's altar, Holyrood Abbey	?	1502	<i>Prot Bk Young i no 1255</i>
114	Chapel, altar and chaplainry of Holy Cross, <i>Nudrymerschale</i>	Archibald Wauchop of <i>Nudry merschale</i>	Chaplainry endowed 1502	<i>RMS ii.2695, RMS C2/13 pt ii no 590</i>
115	Altars of St Brigid (and BVM and St Catherine), in Linlithgow par ch	?	Mentioned 1503	<i>RMS ii.2694</i>
116	Chaplainry at St Cuthbert's altar, Dunglass coll ch	Patrick Hume of Polwarth	1503	<i>HMC 12<sup>th</sup> Rept App pt VIII, p.177-8, no 302</i>
117	Chaplainries at Rood altar in loft and altar of St John the Baptist in the S aisle, Dalkeith coll ch	Mr Alexander Gifford, rector of Newlands	1504	<i>RMS ii.2789</i>
118	St John the Evangelist's chapel, next to Hermanston castle	?	Mentioned 1505	<i>RMS ii.2831</i>
119	Chaplainry at St Duthac's altar, Kelso Abbey	Sir Thomas Broun, vicar perpetual of Calderclere	1505	<i>RMS ii.2860</i>
120	Chaplainry at altar of St Mary and St Michael, royal chapel, Holyrood Abbey	James IV	1505	<i>RMS ii.2903</i>
121	Chapel of BVM of the Nativity, Niddries Wynd, Edinburgh	Elizabeth, countess of Ross	1505	<i>RMS ii.2905</i>
122	Chaplainry at altar of Ss Michael, Crispin and Crispinian, Haddington par ch	John Broun, tanner, bgeess of Haddington	1506	<i>RMS ii.2941</i>
123	Chaplainry in St Catherine's chapel, <i>Cowslan</i> , vic. Edinburgh [the chapel also seems to be new]	Sir William Ruthven of that ilk	1509	<i>RMS ii.3358.</i>
124	St Triduana's aisle and	Bp John Fraser of	By 1512	<i>Midl Chrs pp.279-</i>



	altar, Restalrig collegiate church	Ross	(1492?)	280 (Prot Bk Young i no 534)
125	Altar of Ss Peter and Paul, Stirling parish church	(Fdd by predecessors of Robert Cunningham of Polmais)	Mentioned 1512	GD15/379 (RMS ii.3754)
<b>126</b>	<b>Chapel/hermitage of Ss John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, on Sanct-Jely-Grance in the common muir of Edinburgh</b>	<b>Sir John Crawford, prebendary of St Giles'</b>	<b>1513</b>	<b>RMS ii.3818</b>
127	Two-year chaplainry at St Mary's altar, Musselburgh parish church	Sir Archibald Preston of Whitehill	1513 (testament)	GD122/2/356
128	St Jerome's altar, Restalrig collegiate church	?	By 1515	<i>Midl Chrs</i> p.288
129	St Ninian's altar, Cranshaws par ch	(Elizabeth Lauder to be buried there.)	Mentioned 1515	GD12/80
130	St Monan's altar, Dunbar coll ch	Elizabeth Cunningham (wife of John Lord Hay)	1515 or shortly before	GD28/373
<b>131</b>	<b>Chapel and chaplainry of BVM of the Visitation</b>	<b>Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar</b>	<b>By 1518</b>	<b>GD122/2/358, GD122/1/171</b>
132	Chaplainry in chapel of St Thomas the Martyr, Craigmillar Castle	Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar	By 1520	GD122/1/171, 176
133	Altars of BVM, St Andrew, St Peter in Roslin	?Sinclair of Roslin?	By 1525	<i>Midl Chrs</i> pp.328-31
134	St Kentigern's altar, Tranent par ch	Andrew Heriot of <i>Trabroun</i>	Before 1531	CC8/8/1A no 19.
<b>135</b>	<b>New chaplainry at Rood, Bothans coll ch</b>	<b>Mr Robert Walterston, provost</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>GD28/522</b>
136	Chaplainry in Rood loft, Musselburgh parish church	In Preston of Craigmillar patronage	Mentioned post-Reformation	GD122/1/163



**Table 8b: Dedications of altars and chaplainries in St Giles', Edinburgh.**  
 NB If more than one altar or chaplainry had the same dedication, only the earlier is included.

Dedication	Earliest Known Date	Reference
Blessed Virgin Mary	By 1350	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 3
St John the Baptist	1350	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 3
St Catherine of Alexandria	1358	<i>RRS</i> vi.204
Holy Rood	By 1385	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 16
St John the Evangelist	By 1396	
St Ninian	By November 1405	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 28
St Nicholas	By 1428	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 38
St Duthac	By 1438	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 44
St Martin and St Thomas	1444	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 67
St Andrew	By 1447	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 56
Holy Blood	By 1450	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 68
St James	By April 1451	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 69
St Christopher	1451	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> App. I.2
St Kentigern	September 1451	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 73
St Michael	1454	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 76
St Hubert	By 1456	<i>Edinb. Recs</i> i.14 and n.1.
St Mary Magdalene	1468	Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.258
St Anne	1473	NAS, GD1/12/2
St Severin	By 1476	<i>Edinb. Recs</i> i.26
St Eloi	By 1477	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 86
St Francis	1477	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 92
St Andrew (and St Peter)	1478	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 89
Our Lady of Pity	1484	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 98
St Blaise	1486	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 100
St Denis	1488	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 101
St Laurence	1489	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 104
St Gregory	1491	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 105
St Columba	1492	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 108
St Salvator	1493	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 109
St Sebastian	1494	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> App. I.14
Ss Laurence and Francis	1495	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 110
Ss Mark, Philip and James	By 1500	<i>Edinb. Recs</i> i.80
BVM and the Visitation, and St Roche	1503	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 114
St Anthony	By 1508	<i>Edinb. Recs</i> i.119
All Saints, St Thomas the Apostle, St Appolonia	1509	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> App. I.11
Ss Crispin and Crispinian	By Feb. 1509	<i>Edinb. Recs</i> i.127
BVM and Gabriel	1510	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 120
St Salvator and St Vincent Martyr	?1512	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 118
St Gabriel (and St Jerome)	1523	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> App. I.14
Our Lady of Loreto	By 1525	Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.257
St Triduana	1527	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 130
Jesus Crucified	1528	<i>St Giles Reg.</i> no 132
St Stephen	By 1558	Hay, 'High Kirk of St Giles', p.258.

## *Conclusion*

It is fitting to end with Elizabeth Cunningham's book of hours. In her book we come close to hearing the voice of the devout layperson, a voice almost entirely silenced for late medieval Scotland. Very little can be said about the spiritual preoccupations of most laypeople. At the same time, given the state of the evidence, very few confident generalisations can be made about the performance of activities with an overtly spiritual function. This leaves one with patches of detail which are difficult to piece together into a meaningful form.

The rise of the secular college in Scotland has often been noted as a sign of ongoing interest in investment in prayer. This is hard to dispute, but the specific nature of this trend, first as a distinctive noble fashion within quite tight chronological and geographical bounds, then after 1460 as a new form for royal projects, is probably more significant in demonstrating shifting cultural leadership in general. As argued in Chapter One, the growth and spread of a particular form of collegiate foundation is aligned closely with the immense influence of the Douglas family within noble society, and with a conscious tendency for novel self-definition within the nobility in the early Stewart period, seen in the rise of lords of parliament by the end of James II's minority. The centrality of Lothian in the fashion for colleges is largely derived from the fourth earl of Douglas's Lothian connections, as well as becoming a self-perpetuating local fashion. After 1460 – to take the marker provided by the foundation of Trinity College – the royal adoption of the collegiate form, culminating in the foundation of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, shows new levels of royal innovation and confidence. Lothian again is particularly prominent, as Edinburgh increasingly came to function as something like a capital, and the royal residences at Linlithgow, Stirling and Holyrood were grandly rebuilt. The lack of nobly-sponsored innovation after this time is surely also connected to that other marker, the wholesale destruction of the Douglasses in 1455. The other religious novelty of the later



fifteenth century, the Observant Dominicans and Franciscans, were also not particularly connected to noble patronage, and the Greyfriars were highly favoured by James IV. The importance of the last third or so of the fifteenth century as a time of new court-centred culture is also visible in other fields, most notably literature: until as late as the 1490s, as Sally Mapstone has argued, significant literary productions were sponsored in the localities by lords and lairds, and came to rather than from the court.<sup>1</sup> James III and IV began to explore use of the imagery and rhetoric of imperial kingship.<sup>2</sup> The peculiar characteristics of secular college foundation in Scotland support this general picture of cultural centralisation.

The state of Edinburgh's parish, St Giles', may also confirm this; at any rate, the last third of the fifteenth century was a period of major lay investment in the parish, with some help from royal backing. The existence of sufficient surplus capital among the burgh elite in this period, although partly a result of Edinburgh's growing dominance in east-coast trade, was probably also helped by the presence of courtiers – as suggested, if hyperbolically, by Dunbar's claims for the far finer foodstuffs of Edinburgh in contrast to Stirling. However, as argued in Chapter Five, St Giles' seems to have remained very much the burgh church. If it was richer and grander than Scotland's other urban parishes, the kinds of services endowed by its parishioners were much the same as those in other documented large parish churches such as Aberdeen and Bristol. Comparison between these churches does show the existence of various specific customs – notably of liturgical timing, and forms of charity – showing the internal coherence of parish tradition. It should also be noted that, although the relationship between the burgh and parish was clearly significant to both, it can also be over-emphasised; St Giles' was not the only church in which the Edinburgh authorities exercised responsibility, or which attracted burghers' donations.

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<sup>1</sup> Sally Mapstone, 'Was there a court literature in fifteenth-century Scotland?', *Studies in Scottish Literature* xxvi (1999). See also A.A. MacDonald, 'Princely culture.'

<sup>2</sup> Mason, 'This Realm of Scotland is an Empire?', pp.73-83.

Further research into late medieval Edinburgh's politics and society is necessary, however, before more informed comment on the urban parish can be made.

The other areas explored in this thesis, monastic houses and the cult of saints, prove rather inconclusive. Certainly the variety and vitality of lay engagement with these aspects of religious life can be seen, but more helpful patterns are hard to find. This is partly simply the nature of the evidence, which particularly for monastic houses is very partial. What has also become clear when working on this thesis is that the importance or otherwise of the locality is difficult to appreciate without further work on the landed society of the region. More research on clerical careers and patronage would also be helpful.

Something of the landscape of the Catholicism practised in Lothian in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has nonetheless, it is hoped, emerged a little more clearly; or at least, the landscape within which the kind of laypeople who leave documentary traces did the sorts of devotional things which by their nature produce records. This clearly means that the heart of the matter is generally invisible – the voice of the devout layman, as said, has fallen largely silent.<sup>3</sup> The general absence of much discernible influence in Scotland of either heresy or preoccupations along the lines of the *devotio moderna* makes the religious climate of Lothian or the kingdom in general particularly intangible.

Because of this, I will conclude with some remarks on the recent historiographical consensus about religion in late medieval Scotland, which in a certain sense seems to have become slightly misleadingly over-confident.

There is a quite surprising number of general works on medieval Scotland, which offer more or less extensive treatment of religion, and which are perhaps disproportionately influential in the less than crowded Scottish

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<sup>3</sup> Compare Alexander Murray on the 'cognitive' difficulties of religious history. *Suicide in the Middle Ages* vol. i (Oxford, 1998), p.13; also *idem*, 'The Later Middle Ages', in Richard Harries and Henry Mayr-Harting, eds, *Christianity: Two Thousand Years* (Oxford, 2001), at pp.129-131.



historiographical field. For the Middle Ages, the multi-volume New History of Scotland and Edinburgh History of Scotland were indeed groundbreaking, and have been enormously influential, not only as synthesis but as original works in their own right.<sup>4</sup> The last fifteen years has seen a boom in new general publications. Michael Lynch's *Scotland: A New History* includes generous coverage of the middle ages;<sup>5</sup> a new multi-volume Edinburgh History is in the process of publication; Andrew Barrell's *Medieval Scotland* is in the Cambridge Medieval Textbooks series<sup>6</sup>; Alan Macquarrie has written *Medieval Scotland: Kingship and Nation*<sup>7</sup> for a very general readership; and Jenny Wormald has edited *Scotland: A History*.<sup>8</sup> The *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* and *New Penguin History of Scotland*<sup>9</sup> have also appeared to add to the pile of reference works. Attention is (quite properly) paid to the Church and religion in these works, but it is perhaps unfortunate that the demands of textbook-type synthesis have unavoidably meant that frameworks of understanding are used and conclusions voiced within a very brief compass, not necessarily underpinned by empirical research.

Thus, Alexander Grant's chapter on 'The Church and religion' in his *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (1984) is a brilliant and judicious brief approach to the ecclesiastical situation, the Church's ministry and the laity's engagement, drawing heavily on John Bossy's arguments for the socially-constituted significance of Catholic practice.<sup>10</sup> This has been extremely influential, and is still perhaps the clearest articulation of what has become the consensus among Scottish medievalists: late medieval

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<sup>4</sup> Edinburgh History of Scotland: Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (1975); Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (1974). New History of Scotland: Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*; Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991).

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000)

<sup>7</sup> (Stroud, 2004)

<sup>8</sup> (Oxford, 2005)

<sup>9</sup> Michael Lynch, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford, 2001). David Ditchburn and Alastair J. MacDonald, 'Medieval Scotland, 1100-1560' in *The New Penguin History of Scotland*, eds R.A. Houston and W.W.J. Knox (London, 2001). This volume was published in association with the National Museums of Scotland, and has a greater focus on material culture and social and economic history than many others.

<sup>10</sup> Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, Ch. 4, esp. pp.106-119.



Catholicism in Scotland was generally and conventionally practised, apparently in a manner satisfying enough to most individuals.<sup>11</sup> (Grant's emphasis on the social nature of religion, with tentative suggestions that Scottish structures may have particularly reinforced this, have not been taken up quite so explicitly. The exception to this is perhaps the function of the Corpus Christi procession as a depiction, and constitutive ritual, of the solidarity of the urban community, which has been a subject of dissension among urban historians and which is picked up again in the *New Penguin History of Scotland*<sup>12</sup> and the *Oxford Companion*.<sup>13</sup>) This is very much the impression given in Lynch's chapter on 'The Medieval Church' in *Scotland: A New History*, which in describing the statutes of the post-Lateran IV Church in Scotland states that 'such indications as there are show that the vast bulk of [clergy and parishioners] did perform their duties with an admirable reverence', and prefaces the discussion of fifteenth-century developments with the remark that this was 'an age of a great spiritual awakening'.<sup>14</sup> Ditchburn and MacDonald in the *New Penguin History of Scotland* return to Bossian collectivist emphases ('Medieval Society: the Construction and

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<sup>11</sup> 'The sense of collective Christianity was perhaps especially strong in medieval Scotland, because of the importance there of kinship, the frequent correspondence of parish, community and unit of lordship, and the ways in which the religious and secular machineries for settling disputes fitted together.' *Independence and Nationhood* p.117.

<sup>12</sup> E.P. Dennison, 'Power to the People? The myth of the medieval burgh community', in *Scottish Power centres*, eds Sally Foster, Allan MacInnes and Ranald MacInnes (Glasgow, 1998); 'It was the widespread public impulse to venerate the Host... which had first served to popularize the Corpus Christi celebrations, the Host acquiring the status of a relic of Christ himself as well as symbolically representing the unity of the church in Christ's body.' Ditchburn and MacDonald, 'Medieval Scotland, 1100-1560' in the *New Penguin History of Scotland*, p.124. The rather off-key characterization of the Host as having the 'status of a relic of Christ' – hardly theologically orthodox, and very dubiously helpful as a general description of how the Host was popularly regarded – is the sort of infelicitous summary which mars several such chapters in general works. Compare Lynch's rather odd assertion that 'The cult of the Virgin Mary, which has long been a particular feature of Scottish Roman Catholicism, can be traced to the fifteenth century.' (*Scotland: A New History*, p.108.) The idea seems to be that widespread affective piety towards the Virgin, and devotions like the Rosary, are fifteenth-century developments; this may be arguable, but the sentence as written is misleading to say the least.

<sup>13</sup> In Janet Foggie's 'religious life: medieval': 'Corpus Christi became a more and more central festival: held in June, it celebrated the body of Christ, both as the bread and wine of communion, and as the worshipping community.' p.511.

<sup>14</sup> Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, pp.99, 107.



Collapse of a Catholic Community'), but less explicitly and with a softer edge than Grant.<sup>15</sup> They discuss 'Devotion and Dissent' under the general heading of 'Bonds of Medieval Society: Belief and Birth'. Devotional practice in Scotland is situated in a Continental context, and appears normal and unquestioned ('Faith was not a matter of choice. It was a way of life.'). The low level of recorded heresy (and the relatively low number of religious executions in the Reformation era) is remarked upon: a consensus-led religious society is depicted.<sup>16</sup>

Traditional concerns about intrinsic problems of late medieval Catholicism – particularly the mechanised multiplication of Masses – seem to have become of less interest to most recent commentators. Grant's 1984 chapter still includes some discussion of this; he focuses on the comfort provided by such things as indulgences, and remarks, 'If understood in these ways, late-medieval religion does not seem as bad as the reformers' attacks imply... Nevertheless, in Scotland as in elsewhere, the mechanical attitude to religion which the system stimulated was clearly excessive. Furthermore, theological niceties like the distinction between offering and indulgence were presumably not widely appreciated... Thus the spiritual comfort brought by the religious system may generally have been for the wrong reasons.'<sup>17</sup> Wormald (1981) is a good deal more cheerful: 'For motives which no doubt ranged from 'fire-insurance' to genuine devotion, wealthy laymen still turned to the clergy for prayers for their souls and the souls of their families...'<sup>18</sup> Lynch is thoroughly positive about Masses for the dead, and looks on the bright side of appropriation: 'The effects, though, were not as

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<sup>15</sup> p.118, having no truck with the possibility of pagan or folkloric survivals' undermining the Christian nature of things...

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* pp.122-7. These comments may sound unduly negative. The survey offered is in general sensible (in both the archaic and current senses), and the bibliographical remarks end with a penetrating observation (p.181): 'Bower's chronicle offers more than just a narrative of events from the creation of the world to the fifteenth century. Emotionally laced with religious moralism, social snobbery and ardent patriotism, *Scotichronicon* provides a true flavour of the clerical mentality; and arguably a better insight into the Scottish Middle Ages than any other published work, *except, perhaps, the Bible.*' [Emphasis added.]

<sup>17</sup> *Independence and Nationhood* p.113.

<sup>18</sup> *Court, Kirk and Community*, p.86.

bad as they might have been: underpaid vicars and curates, for the most part, did attend to their pastoral duties diligently, and as a result there was little of the aggressive anti-clericalism directed against the parish clergy which marked other parts of Europe.<sup>19</sup>

Some critical voices remain. James Galbraith's chapter in *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*<sup>20</sup> rehearses the notion that the laity's role at the Mass did not involve 'participation': 'the participation of the layman in the formal act of worship was small... his place in church, whatever his social status, was basically to see and hear.' Galbraith doubts that hearing polyphony might have been congenial to the laity, and suggests that 'such elaborate music may have been regarded by some laymen as a distraction from their own vernacular devotions, repeated privately while the liturgy went on around them, which were presumably common in Scotland as they were elsewhere.'<sup>21</sup> Alan Macquarrie has an unusually anti-clerical approach in his very brief section on late medieval religion ('Evidence for apathy and hostility on the part of the laity is difficult to find, since it was not in the clergy's interest to publicise such problems... Since many aspects of religious observance were a valuable source of income to the clergy, they were much encouraged...').<sup>22</sup> Such attitudes are, however, increasingly unusual. In general, I think it is fair to say that the approach taken by Eamon Duffy to Catholicism in England as 'traditional religion' in *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992) has become widely pervasive: a common Catholicism was available to all social and educational groups, both animating social bonds and fuelling interior life.<sup>23</sup> Jenny Wormald – who by no means underplays the issue of corruption in the Church – is representative in her assessment that 'These

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<sup>19</sup> *Scotland: A New History*, pp.108, 194. The reason for asserting the efficacy of the average curate is not clear.

<sup>20</sup> Eds Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Edinburgh, 1996), 19-35. Galbraith's chapter is in general an invaluable discussion of liturgical books and practice.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* pp.28-9. (The current 'liturgy wars' among Roman Catholics over whether or not the *participatio actiosa* recommended by Vatican II requires laypeople to *do* things, collectively, as part of the liturgy, offer an interesting comparison for historical discussions of this sort.)

<sup>22</sup> *Medieval Scotland: Kingship and Nation* (Stroud, 2004), pp.200-204.

<sup>23</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp.1-6.



endowments [of collegiate churches] and gifts to the church, made on a wider scale than ever before by the laity, stand as a reminder that the last century before the Reformation, for all the evident abuse, was a religious age.’<sup>24</sup> Mairi Cowan’s recent thesis, which examines a selection of themes concerning lay piety in medieval Scotland, essentially concurs with this not-so-new consensus. She suggests that the ‘relative simplicity and stability to social, religious and political structures in later medieval Scotland’ help to explain the general absence of both heresy and phenomena like the *devotio moderna*; she also notes that Scotland is generally conventional and in no way outlandish in Continental terms; and concludes that ‘The range of behaviours described in this dissertation indicates a strong sense of pious initiative and spiritual agency among the laity of pre-Reformation Scotland.’<sup>25</sup>

This consensus is difficult to challenge as such. The present thesis only seems to add to it: when one looks, one finds pious giving, various forms of devotion to the saints, works of corporal mercy, and Catholic frameworks and practices firmly embedded in royal, noble and urban society (or perhaps that should be the other way around). Examination of some concrete forms found in Lothian has usefully brought out certain patterns and details: for example, the ongoing significance to some individuals and families of their relationships with monasteries; that developments in noble self-consciousness in a period marked by weak, absentee or minority kingship can also be seen in the trend of collegiate church foundation; that almsgiving was a prominent element in late fifteenth-century court life, and that

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<sup>24</sup> *Court, Kirk and Community* p.86.

<sup>25</sup> Mairi Cowan, ‘Lay Piety in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation: Individuals, Communities and Nations’, (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2003), pp.258, 259 (‘There is more of a Celtic flavour than in Italy, but less than in Ireland. There is less heresy than in France. Some resemblance to the Netherlandish situation is clearly apparent, especially in religious art and some later medieval movements such as the cult of the Holy Blood. However, Scotland also diverges from the Low Countries in significant ways, such as in its lack of Beguines. The critical point to keep in mind is that *no* region of medieval Europe looks just like any other region of Europe...’), 300.

liturgy in the context of the Chapel Royal was indeed a constitutive element of the court as such.

However, I am not sure that this more detailed understanding of certain areas really allows much in the way of conclusions about piety in general. What the existing historiography and this thesis have demonstrated is that many particular groups and individuals among the laity actively engaged in public works of piety (using 'public' in a minimal sense of 'leaving some external trace'), most prominently involving the support of intercessory liturgies; likewise there is some evidence for lay consumption of religious texts, primarily Books of Hours and devotional poetry (the readership of which for the most part cannot be pinned down at all specifically before the 1530s or so). It is also true that there is little to be seen of either dissent and heresy, or institutionally awkward forms of lay religious life (anchorites, beguines). But it seems over-confident to take from this that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Scotland was generally contentedly and conventionally religious. This is not to suggest a preference for the cynical scepticism which assumes that all manifestations of religion are either self-serving or entirely socially-determined unless explicitly demonstrated otherwise. It is simply to point out two things. One: that knowledge of religion in medieval Scotland is still very patchy, and the gaps between the patches of knowledge are precisely in the sort of areas which give an impression of what things were like. And the other: that the general model of conventional, contented Catholic Scotland is closely related to English historiography, both directly (inasmuch as the excavation of pious practices in medieval England has been generally fruitful in reversing assumptions about the moribundity of late medieval Catholicism) and paradoxically indirectly (inasmuch as the consensus over Catholic Scotland is perhaps suspiciously similar to the 'new orthodoxy' of underlying stability and consensus in Scottish politics, overtly contrasted with the dynastic instability of fifteenth-century England).



With regard to the first of these points, what we scarcely hear in late medieval Scotland are the voices of devout laymen and laywomen: there are occasional echoes (the earl of Fife in 1346; the owners of the Murthly and Yester Hours), but practically nothing is known of (for example) the daily routines of noblemen and -women, of noble funerary practices, of pious reading material before the later fifteenth century, of the sights seen in average churches, of confession. The voices of preachers and pastors are also silenced by the loss of friars' libraries and episcopal records. Without this sort of material, it seems to me rash to hazard generalisations about religious atmosphere. Such sensitive explorations as Jeremy Catto's 'Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century'<sup>26</sup>, or Colin Richmond's 'The English gentry and religion'<sup>27</sup> simply could not be written for Scotland. Moreover there seems no very good reason to assume that, if they could, they would be particularly similar. For – now bearing in mind the second point suggested – it seems to me that the *particular* dissimilarities between Scotland and England are greater than the similarities. There is dissimilarity not only in survival of evidence, which is probably exponentially greater in England than in Scotland; but also, and probably more importantly, in specific English cultural markers, notably a richer material culture (as seen quite dramatically in the fine rural churches of parts of England) and higher levels of lay literacy than seem at all probable in Scotland: and yet these are exactly the sorts of things potentially formative of lay experience and expression of religion.

This is admittedly not a particularly constructive criticism of existing historiography, or at least it is a rather reductive one: all that plainly arises from it is to suggest a still more tentative and hesitant approach on the part of Scottish historians when they are tempted to make pronouncements about

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<sup>26</sup> 'Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century', in *History and Imagination: Essays in honour of H.R. Trever-Roper*, eds. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl and Blair Worden (London, 1981), 43-55.

<sup>27</sup> 'The English gentry and religion, c.1500', in C. Harper-Bill, ed., *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the Conference held at Strawberry Hill, Easter 1989* (Woodbridge, 1991), esp. pp.134-8, 142-3.

the state of religion among the laity before about 1530. And this certainly does not help with the problem of broadening the view of Scottish political history, or bridging the gaps between strands of historiography. Yet it remains a necessary challenge for historical understanding of late medieval Scotland to find some means of assimilating more completely the fact of Catholicism in the lives of medieval Scots, *quorum animabus propitiatur Deus*.



## Appendix

### The Scottish royal almoner before the reign of James IV

As noted in Chapter Three, there is little record of the nature of the office of almoner or elemosinar in the Scottish royal household before the extant Treasurer's Accounts. As in England and France, the convention of using a Templar as almoner seems to have developed by the late twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> The authors of the most recent survey of the Templars in Scotland suggest that this relationship may have gone back to David I's reign. A Brother Roger the Almoner appears under William I; later, early in Alexander III's reign, one *frater Richardus elemosinarius de ordine milicie templi* was among the members of the Comyn-dominated council removed from office Henry III in 1255.<sup>2</sup> In a text on the Scottish king's household composed probably for John Balliol in c.1292, the role of the almoner is described:

*Derechief en lostel le Roi doit estre Aumoigner en fee [ou] un Chiualer [pur luy] on un Frere de Temple & un clerc, assige desouz luy de par le Roi pour la garde del Aumoigne. Et le Aumoigner auera la garde de touz les Hospitals le Roir & ferra tiels mestres pout queux il voet respondre, bons lusebondes & tiles qi scieuent profiter les mesons & les freres & les soeures sustiner; & les seriantz le Rois qi chieissent en age de son hostel, et ses poures bondes qi ne se poent aider, serront recuz & gouvernez en les ditz hospitals solonc lestat des mesons. Et serront les hospitals le Roi une foitz par an visitez par le Chancellor sanz rien charger les mesons, en la presence la Aumoigner, comme celui qest chief du consail le Roi.*

Further in the King's household there should be an Almoner of fee [or] a knight [for him,] or a brother of the Temple, and a clerk assigned under him on the King's behalf to guard the almonry. And the Almoner shall have the guard of all the King's hospitals, and shall make master such as are good housekeepers, for whom he will answer, and such as know how to advantage the houses and maintain the brethren and sisters; and the servants of the king's household who grow old, and his poor bondsmen who cannot help themselves, shall be received and governed in the said hospitals according to the means of the said houses. And the King's hospitals

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<sup>1</sup> Xavier de la Selle, *La Service des Ames a la Cour: Confesseurs et Aumôniers des Rois de France du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Mémoires et Documents de l'École des Chartes 43 (Paris, 1995), p.35, on early French and English almoners. I am grateful to Dr Sally Dixon-Smith for drawing my attention to this book.

<sup>2</sup> IB Cowan, PHR Mackay and A Macquarrie, eds, *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland* (SHS 1983), pp. xxi, xxiii; Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, p.93 n.32; Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations* no 10; Duncan, *Making of the Kingdom*, pp.560-67. [Council of 1258: see CPR 1258-66 2, and Close Rolls 1256-9 461-2]

shall be visited once a year by the Chancellor without any charge to the houses, in the presence of the Almoner, as by him who is head of the King's Council.<sup>3</sup>

The editor of this text, Miss Bateson, suggests the additions indicated by square brackets. By comparison with other offices, wch begin, *doit estre N en fee ou vn chivaler suffissent par luy...*, one can see why she corrects it thus. In the particular context of the almoner's office, however, the simpler reading taken by Cowan, Mackay and Macquarrie in their *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland* seems to make more sense: *doit estre Aumoigner en fee vn Chiualer ou vn Frere de Temple*, 'there should be an Almoner in fee, a Knight or a Brother of the Temple'.<sup>4</sup>

As Barrow noted, the employment of a Templar certainly ended at the Templars' dissolution in 1309, if not before.<sup>5</sup> Bateson notes the occurrence of a Sir Ralf the Almoner in 1304 (one wonders in what sense, however, there could be a functioning royal almonry in 1304).<sup>6</sup> In 1326, one sir Robert, *elemosinarius*, presumably a secular clerk, received seven *codros* of cheese from the constable of Tarbert, *in elemosina domini regis*.<sup>7</sup> David II's queen Joan supplicated to the pope in 1350 on behalf of 'the king's chaplain and almoner' Thomas Bur, rector of Mocarde, in 1350.<sup>8</sup> The visitation of hospitals is mentioned by James I's parliament of 1425, when it was commanded that the chancellor should visit all royally-founded hospitals, while the local ordinary should visit hospitals founded by others. The presence of the almoner is not mentioned in this statute.<sup>9</sup> James I did however have an almoner: William de Foulis, provost of Bothwell and keeper of the Great Seal, was reportedly described as 'elemosinarius noster' in 1426,<sup>10</sup> and one Michael *Ouchtre*, 'major

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<sup>3</sup> M. Bateson, ed. and tr., 'The Scottish King's Household and other fragments from a fourteenth century manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge', *SHS Misc.* ii.1-43, pp.34-5, 40-41.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, p.93 n.32.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p.17; CDS ii no 1561, where Sir Ralf is witness to a receipt of wheat for the king's use [Edward I's use] at Stirling, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1304.

<sup>7</sup> ER i.58.

<sup>8</sup> CPP i.204.

<sup>9</sup> APS i.7.

<sup>10</sup> SP iii.58. I have not been able to verify this quotation.



almoner' of the king, is named in a supplication to the pope of 1427.<sup>11</sup> What the exercise of this office actually involved is not apparent from extant records. In general the office does not seem to have been a prominent one at court, although the naming of William Foulis as almoner may suggest that it was potentially prestigious. The late appearance of separate *Elemosina* accounts suggests that, as with other departments of Scottish beaurocracy, royal alms-giving was not administered very distinctly from other categories of royal expenditure.

Curiously, an entry in the Exchequer Rolls of James II's reign seems to indicate that the dean of the Chapel Royal – a relatively new office, instituted probably in James I's reign – had a role in the distribution of alms: £10 from the Edinburgh customs were given to *magistro Alano Cant, decano capelle regie, de mandato domini regis sub signeto de precepto et ipsius decani de recepto, distribute in elimosina regis* ('to Mr Alan Cant, dean of the chapel royal, upon the lord king's mandate under the signet upon the command and the dean's upon the receipt, distributed as the king's alms').<sup>12</sup> This seems to be the only example of this dean's being the officer of alms-distribution, and it is possible that it was a one-off. It is also possible that this was money which Mr Alan had given in alms upon some occasion at the king's command, for which he was now being reimbursed; as we will see, the TA later show that this happened reasonably frequently under James IV. However, the TA for James III's reign may suggest that the dean had some more defined role to play here.

The almoner is named twice in James III's reign. The first is Mr Richard Guthrie. Parliament in 1469 noted that visitation of hospitals had not been carried out according to earlier parliamentary statutes. It therefore stated that Mr Richard Guthrie was to be confessor to the king and general elemosinar, and was to be 'stuffit with authority' to visit and reform hospitals.<sup>13</sup> This then looks like a return to the system in the late thirteenth-century description of the royal household. It is also extremely interesting that he is supposed to be the king's confessor besides elemosinar, for this is the only recorded

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<sup>11</sup> CSSR ii.166.

<sup>12</sup> ER vi.3.

<sup>13</sup> APS ii.97.

appearance in Scotland of any spiritual significance to the almoner's role, whereas in France the almoner and the king's confessor were both considered to be concerned with the king's conscience.<sup>14</sup> What else Guthrie did in the capacity of elemosinar is not recorded, and he does not appear in the *Exchequer Rolls* for James III's reign. The combining of almoner and confessor certainly did not continue in James IV's reign, and may have ended with a change in personnel. The other almoner named in James III's reign was Mr Martin Wane, named as 'our high elemosinar' (*elemosinarius magnus noster*) in a list of ambassadors to negotiate the king's marriage with Margaret of Denmark in 1471.<sup>15</sup> What he did in his capacity as elemosinar is, however, unrecorded. Master Martin was a successful clerk who enjoyed the prominent benefice of the Chancellorship of Glasgow from 1468 to 1505 (when he died), with an interruption in his possession c.1480-82.<sup>16</sup> He was not quite among the most prominent of the clergy in royal service, but he was apparently considered competent. Besides his ambassadorial role, he served on parliamentary commissions appointed in 1468, 1469 and 1483, the parliamentary committee for falsed dooms in 1469, the committee of the articles in 1471, and the committee for causes in 1482.<sup>17</sup>

Somewhat puzzlingly, Wane does not appear in the relevant parts of the TA for 1473-4, and neither is any almoner named in them. These accounts indeed suggest that the Chapel Royal continued to be involved with royal alms. One section of the Accounts for this year was the 'Expensis for the chapell with the offerandis', which covered a limited number of offerings in churches as well as chapel gear. Several were offerings on feast-days: St Margaret's day in Edinburgh Castle (in November?), Candlemas, St Peter's day (29<sup>th</sup> June?). There are also offerings on 6<sup>th</sup> February (in St Anthony's on the Crag), Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> July, and 30<sup>th</sup> September (in 'the Lady Kirke of

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<sup>14</sup> de la Selle, *Le Service des Ames a la Cour*, pp. 57-8, 69, 107-10.

<sup>15</sup> RMS ii.1020 (AD 1471); APS ii.187

<sup>16</sup> *Fasti* p.210.

<sup>17</sup> APS ii.90, 93, 97, 98. He had also, however, served as the Duke of Albany's secretary: R. Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: Politics and the Three Estates, 1424-1488* (East Linton, 2001), pp.245-6.



Sanctandros', i.e. the Chapel Royal).<sup>18</sup> Except for the offering in St Anthony's and that in St Andrew's (which was the king's), all these were sums 'gevin to the King and the Qwene to offir'. Given that these records appear in accounts concerning the chapel royal, it seems probable that the offerings made in unspecified locations were made at Masses celebrated in the king's chapel (or perhaps one should say, by the king's chapel). Also recorded is a payment of £20 'gevin to Schire Johnne Story, collector for the chapell, for the hail offerandis for this zere.' Precisely what this signifies is not immediately clear – did the king allocate a lump sum for Mass-offerings in his chapel, with individual payments only upon feast days? Whatever this entry means, the 'Expensis for the chapell with the offerandis' are, it should be noted, separate from 'The Kingis Almous', a section of the 1473-4 accounts which covers payments to 'Androu blindman the Kingis beidman', payment for 'the obsequies and furth bringing of lital Hannis gunnare', 'The Almous at Pasche' and 'Almous on Skire Thurisday'.<sup>19</sup> These latter two sections also include the Queen's alms at these times. No elemosinar is named within these accounts. Apart from the payment for Hans' obsequies, all the donations in these parts of the accounts are for the poor. Most of them are recorded as direct payments, whether to purchase items ('for the King, 23 gownis, 23 hudis... for the Qwene, 17 gownis, 17 hudies... for the makin of the gownis and hudis') or to paupers ('gevin to the pure folk for the Kingis almous in Lentron, except the Qwenis almous... to a pure man, ane Moffet a bordourare, in almous at the Kingis commande...'). However, in two entries a servant acted as agent: one of the payments to blind Andrew was delivered to Mr John Patonson, and £8 were 'gevin to Maister Johne Patonsone for the Quenys Lentron almous.' Mr John also appears once in the 'Expensis for the Chapell with the Offerandis', when cloth 'for ij tovellis to the Kingis alter', obtained from 'Sandris of Turing', was delivered to Mr John Patonson. It seems possible, therefore, that Patonson was acting as almoner at this time. However, he does not apparently appear under this title in extant record. He was granted a life

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<sup>18</sup> TA i.64.

<sup>19</sup> TA i.71-2

pension of £13 p.a. from the mails of Linlithgow in 1479, in the precept for which James III states that the grant is made 'for the singlere favouris that we hafe to oure familiare servitur and chapellane of oure closet, maister Johne Patonsone, and for his lang and trew service done to our progenitour of maiste noble mynde quham God assoilze and to us.' There is no indication here that he held specific office beyond being a royal chaplain.<sup>20</sup> The division of these accounts may indicate a division in the administration of alms, with the king's and queen's offerings in churches being within the remit of the chapel royal and its dean, while gifts to the poor were handled by a different clerk.

As discussed in Chapter Three, James IV's almoner Andrew McBreck was a long-term familiar servant of the king, usually present at the royal household, who administered regular and casual gifts to the poor and to clergy. He was both fully occupied with his office and well rewarded for it.

To put the Scottish royal almonry in a wider context, comparison may be made with arrangements for alms at the French court, recently studied in detail by Xavier de la Selle, which are in some respects similar and in others very different.

In both countries, as already noted, the early almoners had been Templars. After the dissolution of the order, when the situation in Scotland becomes very obscure, the French royal almoner had a much more prominent role. France. There, by the end of the thirteenth century the almoner's office was one of the six *Chambres* of the royal *Hôtel*. In the fourteenth century, the roles of almoner and confessor converged somewhat. The men filling these offices before 1389 were generally successful civil servants, whose appointment to these positions 'crowned' a career. After 1389, during Charles VI's reign, they were then almost all graduates of the College of Navarre, which produced many men of intellectual and political influence. In 1413 both the almoner and confessor were described as those having sole responsibility for counselling the king upon *des choses qui touchent principalement nostre* [the

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<sup>20</sup> *ER* viii.603 [roll no 261, old no 276]. Puzzlingly, the introduction to *TA* i (p.ccxxxv) states that he is named as almoner in this letter. A John Patonson (*Johannes Patricii*) rendered the account of the baillies of Rutherglen in 1458; he seems unlikely to be the same man: *ER* vi.399.



king's] *conscience*.<sup>21</sup> In Scotland, the only evidence for a similar emphasis in the almoner's role is the solitary reference to Mr Richard Guthrie as both almoner and royal confessor in 1469.<sup>22</sup> France's unstable political situation during Charles VI's madness and the later civil wars then meant that the offices of both almoner and confessor, like other court positions, could become pawns in the struggles for power. Only under Louis XI did this stabilise, in which reign the king chose almoners and confessors from a variety of backgrounds, without particular consistency.<sup>23</sup> The French royal almoner was thus throughout the period considerably more prominent than he appears to have been in Scotland until perhaps James III's reign.

The administration of the royal alms in France can be seen far more clearly than in Scotland, and some examination of the French practice may be instructive. In France, there was a long-standing division between ordinary alms and casual alms. The ordinary alms covered regular payments in cash and kind, outstandingly a long list of Lenten alms to hundreds of religious houses and special Lenten alms to the poor, besides daily payments to paupers and distributions at other religious festivals. These were the responsibility of the almoner, and followed a relatively static pattern from the mid thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries; however, the Lenten cash payments were increasingly delayed in the fourteenth century and eventually scarcely distributed. Payments in kind were better maintained, but the accounts for these disappear after 1422, and it is unclear what happened in the fifteenth century.<sup>24</sup> The almoner's responsibility for regular distributions to the poor, however, is clearly mirrored in the Scottish case in the later period.

The French king's casual alms were the other type of alms given, in arrangements which varied rather more over time and which in the later fifteenth century were apparently the most prominent sort of alms. The *tablettes de l'Hôtel* of the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries, daily

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<sup>21</sup> de la Selle, *Le Service des Ames a la Cour*, pp. 57-8, 69, 107-10.

<sup>22</sup> APS ii.97.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* pp.110-15.

<sup>24</sup> de la Selle, *Le Service des Ames a la Cour*, pp. 162-175.

records of household expenditure, include gifts and alms given by the king. Many such payments were made by the almoner, but by no means all. It was moreover not the almoner who rendered account of this sort of expenditure; it came within the general account returned by the *Maître de la Chambre des Deniers*.<sup>25</sup> This looks not unlike the manner in which, much later, the Scottish *Elemosina* accounts show people other than the almoner paying out for royal alms, and that in which the accounts for alms, even when separated into a category of their own, were incorporated into the Scottish Treasurer's Accounts of the late fifteenth century.

In France under Charles VI, the royal household's accounts continue to include *dona* and *elemosina*, but the almoner seems to have less and less to do with any of these day-to-day grants and distributions; more frequently, various household servants laid out money and were later reimbursed, while the majority of payments were those made directly by the king in churches where he heard Mass or visited shrines. De la Selle argues that these practices are connected both to Charles' personal piety, and to the political upheavals which thwarted the almoner's role in administering displays of royal largesse.<sup>26</sup> Arrangements in the mid fifteenth century, in France as in Scotland, are obscured by lack of sources. In the late fifteenth century, however, the accounting practice in France changed, possibly under Charles VII and certainly under Louis XI. Accounts of Offerings and Alms appear, the first being extant in 1478, quite independent of the accounts of the *Hôtel*. These account rolls were maintained by a royal notary. They recorded casual alms to paupers of various sorts, and some gifts to mendicant houses, particularly Observant Franciscans; and offerings at Masses or for Masses to be said. Louis XI mandated most of these offerings himself, and authenticated the account rolls by signing them; Mass offerings were the most prominent category of alms. Under Charles VIII, however, the almoner arranged the use of the money provided by the king, and alms to the poor and sick were considerably greater than the fixed, limited Mass-offerings. As de la Selle

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-8.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 181-4.



argues, the difference in the two accounting systems looks primarily like the result of considerable differences in personality and piety between the two kings.<sup>27</sup>

Although it does not look as if the Scottish practices were very closely comparable to the French at any point in the later middle ages, certain points are worth noting. The tendency of the French arrangements to vary from reign to reign – particularly the changing prominence of the almoner himself in the actual handling of royal alms – perhaps sheds some light on the confusing indications for James II and James III's reign, if only by suggesting that the initially troubling inconsistencies in the Scottish sources are perhaps in no more need of reconciliation than those in the French. The hints that the Dean of the Chapel Royal had some sort of responsibility for alms, while remaining obscure, at least seem less implausible when viewed alongside the variable approach to alms administration in France. The marked difference between the *TA*'s representation of alms under James III and that under James IV is also less puzzling when the contrast between the habits of Louis XI and Charles VIII is noted. That a large proportion of the French king's casual alms were paid out not by the almoner but by other members of his retinue was also probably mirrored to some extent in Scotland, although, as noted above, the record is not entirely clear. The French material, which, while partial, is still far more abundant than the Scottish, is thus helpful in suggesting possible models against which readings of the Scottish evidence can be tested.

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* pp.185-91.

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